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Editorial

This new issue of *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* opens with an unusual but extremely important contribution by one of the deans of our discipline, Prof. Egert Pöhlmann. In his opening paper, he retraces the most significant steps of the events around which many ideas and scholarly discussions, involving both scholars and students in the field, have gravitated during the first two decades of the 3rd millennium: the *Seminars on Ancient Greek and Roman Music* held in Corfu (Greece) and in Riva del Garda (Italy), the fourteenth meeting of which will take place this year.

The following papers are mostly dedicated to the so-called ‘New Music Revolution’, the influential cultural phenomenon that has undergone a great revival in recent scholarly debate, addressing especially its reception in philosophical and historical sources: Antonietta Gostoli investigates the opposition between ‘old’ and ‘new’ in the philosophical sources of Pseudo-Plutarchean *De musica*; this dialogue is also the starting point of Ambra Tocco’s contribution, which then focuses on the Peripatetic reconstructions of the ‘historical past’ of Greek *mousikē*; Francesca Modini thoroughly examines the musical ‘revisionism’ of the imperial sophist Aelius Aristides, who reconsidered the anecdotal traditions about Philoxenus in the context of a rhetorical attack on Plato, while Marco Ercoles analyzes in great detail the rhythmical language of the poets adhering to this musical style, cogently arguing that—far from inventing new rhythmical tools—they reinforced and extended the scope of already existing resources and applied them to new genres; finally, Kamila Wyslucha carefully inspects echoes of the ‘anti-*aulos*’ crusade, originally conducted in late fifth-century BC Greece, in two poets of Augustan elegy, Ovid and Propertius.

The last two papers diverge from this theme, broadening the inquiry on ancient musical culture to other topics: in the first, Egert Pöhlmann identifies the lost *encomium* on Hadrian’s favourite Antinous, which was composed by the musician Mesomedes, in one of the inscriptions of Courion (Cyprus), while in the closing contribution Paola Dessì reconstructs the Classical musical imagery hidden in a Medieval poem of the 10th century by Eugenius Vulgarius.

As always, I must express my deepest gratitude to all those who, together with me, continue work on the journal to improve it: my colleagues on the Editorial Board and the extremely helpful staff of our publisher, Brill.

Eleonora Rocconi



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Fifteen Years of Enquiries in Ancient Greek and Roman Music (2004–2018)

The Seminars in Corfu (Greece) and Riva del Garda (Italy)

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Abstract

Every summer, from July 2004 to July 2011, the Music Department at the Ionian University in Corfu (Greece) held a week-long *Seminar on Ancient Greek and Roman Music*, attended by students and scholars from all over the world, contributing to the formation of younger generations of researchers in the field. In 2012, because of the financial crisis in Greece, the annual seminar had to be cancelled: but in 2014 it was revived in Riva del Garda (Italy) thanks to the joint support of the MOISA and the ARION Societies and has taken place every year since then.

Keywords

ancient Greek music – MOISA seminars – MOISA International Society – ARION Society

Introduction

As is well known, the MOISA Society was founded in 2007; six years later *GRMS* was launched, first on an annual basis, now published biannually. This article is meant to provide a brief history of the meetings that preceded and helped pave the way for these achievements, and have so far accompanied the development of MOISA and contributed to the improvement of scholarly research in the field of ancient Greek and Roman music. These meetings were conceived from the very beginning in the form of Summer Schools—that is, periods of 7-10 days during which the most renowned scholars in the field would meet

younger scholars and students from all over the world to discuss specific topics in an informal way and in a comfortable and friendly environment. The basic idea was, and still is, that since ancient music is a multi-faceted and complex discipline, the more professional approaches and cultural backgrounds that could be brought together to investigate it, the better.

1 The Beginnings

It all started in 2004. Prof. Charis Xanthoudakis, Pro-Rector of the Ionian University and President of the Department of Music, together with Associate Prof. Panagiotis Vlagopoulos, decided to add the topic of Ancient Greek Music to the syllabus of the 2nd International Summer Academy, which the Ionian University had started in 2003. They therefore invited Prof. Andrew Barker to arrange a seminar about Ps.-Aristotle, *Problems*, Book 19, and Prof. Egert Pöhlmann to read lectures about the more general topic of *Ancient Greek Music*. The seminars were held in the mornings (5-9 July) in the Villa of Mon Repos. They were attended by Andrew Barker (Birmingham), Andromache Batziou (Corfu), Egert Pöhlmann (Erlangen), Massimo Raffa (Messina), Panagiotis Vlagopoulos (Corfu), Charis Xanthoudakis (Corfu), and students of the Ionian University. Each of the seminar leaders (Profs Barker, Vlagopoulos and Xanthoudakis) chose the particular group of passages in the text that he wished to discuss, a model that was used in subsequent years. The public lectures about *Ancient Greek Notation* and about *Worship, Feast and Music in Delphi* (now in Pöhlmann 2007a) were read by Prof. Pöhlmann in modern Greek in the hall of the Ionian Academy. The fascinating milieu of Mon Repos and the Academy, together with the friendly and at the same time scholarly atmosphere of the discussions, continued also in the seminars held in the following years under the responsible direction of Panagiotis Vlagopoulos.

2 Ps.-Plutarch, *De Musica* (1-10 July 2005)

After the first occasion, the seminars rapidly became an international event: the meetings were no longer attended only by the speakers and local students, but gradually came to include students and scholars from all over the world. In 2005, Andrew Barker and Charis Xanthoudakis chose the Ps.-Plutarchean *De Musica* as subject of the 2nd year of the seminar, opened by Andrew Barker and Eleonora Rocconi (Pavia) with some introductory sessions on the ancient contexts for musical performances and the most relevant sources for

investigating music theory in antiquity (*Introduction to the Study of Ancient Greek Music*, 1 July). The discussion of the dialogue began with an *Introduction to De Musica* (Egert Pöhlmann, 4 July) and two sessions about chapters 1-13 of the text (Andrew Barker, 4-5 July): chapters 14-30 were then explained by Egert Pöhlmann (6-7 July) and chapters 31-44 by Eleonora Rocconi (8-9 July). The fragment from Pherecrates' *Chiron* (fr. 155 K.-A. *ap. Ps.-Plut. De Mus.* 30), whose importance relies especially on its criticism against late Fifth-century musical innovations (the so-called 'New Music'), was presented and widely commented upon by the three keynote speakers (A. Barker, E. Pöhlmann, E. Rocconi) on the 10th of July. The morning sessions were held in the Villa of Mon Repos, while the evening papers took place in the Academy of the Ionian University. Alexandros Mazarakis-Ainian (Corfu), author of *Ὅμηρος καὶ ἀρχαιολογία* (Athens 2000, Kardamitsa), contributed two evening lectures in modern Greek (1-2 July). Other evening lectures were delivered by Nikos Xanthoulis, Athens (*On the Ancient σάπτιγξ*, 6 July) and Charis Xanthoudakis (*The Reception of De Musica in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment*, 9 July). As help for beginners, Kostas Skordylis (Corfu) contributed a lecture titled *Philological Vademecum to the Texts* (2-3 July).

The outcome of this seminar was a better understanding of the structure of this compilation of sources, of which Glaucus of Rhegium, Heraclides of Pontus and Aristoxenus turned out to be the most important; in some ways it also provoked a growing academic interest in the text, which found completion in a conference later at the University of Calabria, Italy, titled *Poesia, canto, accompagnamento strumentale nel De musica attribuito a Plutarco* (Rende, 26-28 November) and organized by Prof. Antonietta Gostoli (then published in *QUCC* n.s. 99.3, 2011). Moreover, from this year on, it started to appear that the Seminar had a positive impact on the production of fresh scholarly literature: Egert Pöhlmann's paper about Pherecrates' *Chiron* was subsequently published in Pöhlmann 2011, Eleonora Rocconi's contribution appeared in Rocconi 2005, while years later Andrew Barker would revise his material for Barker 2011 and Barker 2014.

3 Music in the Comedy: Aristophanes and Comedy Fragments (1-9 July 2006)

In 2006 (see Figure 1), the Pherecrates' fragment, which had been widely discussed during the previous year and stimulated a scholarly discussion about comedy as a source for ancient Greek music, inspired the topic of the new seminar. Andrew Barker, Egert Pöhlmann and Eleonora Rocconi provided a large

selection of relevant passages of Aristophanes' plays and fragments, which were preliminarily presented to the beginners by Kostas Skordylis (*Reading and Translation of Comic Texts*, 1-2 July).

Egert Pöhlmann opened the seminar with a paper about the ancient stage for Aristophanes' plays: *The Dionysus Theatre in the 5th cent. BC*. He then introduced the main topic, discussing *Aristophanes and the New Music* and commenting on selected passages from *Acharnians*, *Knights*, *Clouds*, *Birds* and *Thesmophoriazusae*. Further relevant passages on music in *Wasps*, *Peace*, *Lysistrata*, *Assembly of Women* and *Frogs* were discussed by Eleonora Rocconi. Finally, Andrew Barker presented a rich selection of comic fragments in two sessions titled *The Music in the Fragments of Comedy*. Evening speakers included Angelo Meriani (Salerno, *Music in Middle Comedy*), Andrew Barker (*The Guild of the Technitai at Teos*), Mariella da Simone (Salerno, *Euripides μελοποιός in Aristophanes Frogs 1301-28*), Massimo Raffa (Messina, *The Aulos or Tibia and the Human Voice*) and Andromache Batziou (*Hellenistic Terracottas from Comedy*). On the last day of the seminar the participants summarised and discussed the results of the overall enquiry: the great number of comic references to Athenian daily life may nowadays provide scholars with important information on contemporary musical genres, instruments and musicians, even if such evidence is always presented (and often distorted) through the comic lense (and should hence be carefully interpreted). Moreover, it became evident that the aim of Aristophanes' parody of Euripidean music was not coarse polemic, but genial imitation of the style and music of his model.

As had happened with the previous year's seminar, this summer school resulted in the appearance of new articles. Massimo Raffa continued working on his topic and three year later published an article in *Il Saggiatore Musicale* (Raffa 2008) on the links between the human voice and the sound of the *aulos* or *tibia* in the Greco-Roman world. Mariella De Simone published a revised version of her paper in De Simone 2008, while Eleonora Rocconi's material converged in two articles on ancient comedy (Rocconi 2007a e 2007b).

In the same year, scholars in the field developed the idea of establishing an association for promoting the preservation, interpretation, and valorisation of Ancient Greek and Roman Music. *The International Society for the Study of Greek and Roman Music and its Cultural Heritage* (later called MOISA) was, then, established during a meeting in Ravenna (Italy) organised by Prof. Donatella Restani (Bologna) on 30-31 October 2006, and Andrew Barker was elected its President while Alan C. Bowen (Princeton), David Creese (University of British Columbia; now Newcastle), Donatella Restani and Eleonora Rocconi became members of its Executive Committee. After that, the Corfu Seminars became regular events of the Society.

4 The Role of Women in Ancient Greek Music (1-8 July 2007)

The leading role of women in the music of Comedy had already been observed during discussions occurring at the 2006 seminar. As a natural consequence, then, in 2007 the speakers decided to discuss more widely *The Role of Women in Ancient Greek Music*, and papers on several aspects of this topic were presented. As usual, Kostas Skordylis contributed an introduction to the selected texts (*Reading of Relevant Texts*, 1 July).

The seminar was opened by Andrew Barker, who commented on female musical characters in Greek mythology, both in groups (as the Muses, the Sirens and the Erinyes) and as individual goddesses, like Athena and Demeter (*Musical Women in Greek Mythology I*). Massimo Raffa presented an evening lecture titled *Music and Musical Images in Early Christian Literature*, which focused on Christian reception of earlier Greek views on music and was some years later published in the *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medievale* (with the title *Artificio retorico o sapere musicale?* see Raffa 2017). On 3 July, Eleonora Rocconi gave her first session about *The Role of Women in the Music of Worship*, illustrating the most important evidence for female chorality in Sparta, Delos, Athens and Corinth. John Curtis Franklin (Vermont) contributed an evening lecture about *The Epicentric Arrangement of the Strings of the Archaic Lyre*. On 4 July, Egert Pöhlmann delivered a paper about *Actors Singing in Female Roles on the Greek Theatre I: Sophocles, Euripides*, treating the metrical analyses of some lyric passages in dramas as a contribution to the understanding of female characters on the tragic stage (see now Pöhlmann 2009, pp. 245-57). There followed an evening lecture by Mariella da Simone on *Musical Parody in Aristophanes' Wasps: Phrynichus and the Orientalizing Pattern* (at the beginning of her scholarly interest which, years later, found completion in De Simone 2016). On 5 July, Andrew Barker continued with his sessions on the role of women in myth (*Musical Women in Greek Mythology II*), followed by two evening papers: Antonietta Provenza (Palermo) discussed *Corybantic Rites in Antiquity*, and Stefan Hagel (Vienna) presented the scientific basis for his final concert (*From Reconstructed Instruments to Reconstructed Accompaniment of Ancient Greek Melodies*), an event which then became a regular feature of these scholarly occasions with the intention of disseminating scholarly knowledge to a wider public. On 6 July, Eleonora Rocconi gave her second session on *The Role of Women in Private Society*, giving an overview about the most important musical contexts in which women played a role and discussing the most relevant evidence on the topic. There followed two evening lectures of some young scholars from Thessaloniki: Ourania Zachartzi (*Muse ore Musician? Women and Music in the Hellenistic Period*) and Antonia Roumpi (*Female Musicians on Attic Vase*

Paintings of the Archaic and Classic Period). On 7 July, Egert Pöhlmann continued his enquiry about *Actors Singing in Female Roles on the Greek Theatre II: Euripides, Aristophanes* (see now Pöhlmann 2009, pp. 258-83), followed by evening lectures of Angela Bellia (*Agrigento: Musical Coroplastics in Antiquity*, see now Bellia 2009) and Andromache Batziou (*Women Singing the Threnos from Homer to Pindar*). On the last day the speakers discussed the results of the seminar in a round table, pointing out the need for a closer study of the extensive evidence on women in ancient musical contexts and imagery, too often underestimated.

A concert in the Hall of the Ionian Academy, performed by Rosa Pulime-nou (Corfu), soprano, and Stefan Hagel, *kithara* and *aulos* (in which fragments of ancient Greek music and modern reconstructions using ancient texts were performed), concluded the seminar. The concert was framed by the presentation of the book by Egert Pöhlmann and Ioanna Spiliopoulou (Kalamata), 'Η Ἀρχαία Ἑλληνική Μουσική στο Πλαίσιο της Ἀρχαίας Ἑλληνικής Ποίησης (Pöhlmann 2007b) by the speakers E. Pöhlmann, P. Vlagopoulos and Ch. Xanthoudakis).

5 Music Psychology and Music Therapy in Antiquity: Aristides Quintilianus' *De Musica* Book 2 (30 June-6 July 2008)

The 5th seminar on Greek Music was preceded by a conference hosted by the IMS (International Musicological Society) titled *Metamorphoses of Orpheus. Musical Images from Greek Mythology in Antiquity and their Revivals in European Art* (Corfu, Hall of the Academy, 26-29 June 2007), organised under the scholarly supervision of Prof. Alexandra Goulaki Voutira (Thessaloniki). This event was a paradigmatic example of the central role played by Corfu in those years, as far as the ever-growing network of researchers and scholarly approaches to the topic of ancient music is concerned. Egert Pöhlmann and Andrew Barker contributed papers to this conference, later replicating their deliveries during the seminar for the benefit of the students (E. Pöhlmann: *The Crowe Corselet; Olympia M 394: King Iphitus of Elis Asking Apollo for an Oracle*, now in Pöhlmann 2009, 272-83; A. Barker: *Philosophical Reflections on Mythical Musicians: Proclus on Orpheus, Thamyris and Others*).

The 2008 seminar focused on Greek views about the therapeutic role of music. The text closely commented upon for such purposes was Aristides Quintilianus' *De musica*, a third century AD text which puts together earlier sources on music within a single unifying framework, most specifically Book 2, mainly devoted to the value of music in education and psychiatric therapy. The seminar was opened by Egert Pöhlmann with a paper contextualising

Aristides' work, titled *Date and Type of the Treatise of Aristides Quintilianus*. There followed an evening lecture by Theodoros Tasios (Athens) titled *Ancient Technology and Music*, illustrating the technical problems involved in the construction of the *hydraulis*. Egert Pöhlmann continued his sessions on Aristides Quintilianus closely commenting on chapters 1-6 of book 2. There followed an evening lecture of Antonietta Provenza on *Rhythm and Pulse. Some Anecdotes on Music Therapy in the Light of Aristides' Quintilianus De Musica*, and one by Andromache Batziou exploring *The Reception of Aristides Quintilianus in Renaissance Music Theory*. On 2-3 July, Andrew Barker closely commented on chapters 7-14 of the main text, and his sessions were followed by three evening lectures: Stefan Hagel on *The Bellermand Pieces: A Rhythmic Interpretation* (later published in Hagel 2008), Robert Wallace (Chicago) on the connection of Damon with music therapy (see Wallace 2015), and Massimo Raffa on *Sextus Empiricus and the Music*, one of the most important sources of evidence against the theory of musical *ēthos* (part of the material presented by Raffa on that occasion was used in Raffa 2011). During the last two days Eleonora Rocconi commented on chapters 15-19 of the main text, especially focusing on Aristides' description of the emotional effects of ancient rhythms (see Rocconi 2008). A methodological approach to the study of ancient Greek musical rhythm was the subject of one of the last evening lectures, delivered by Joan Silva Barris (Barcelona), who later published a book on the same topic (Silva Barris 2011), while Francesco Pelosi (Pisa) focused on epistemological matters in Porphyry's *Commentary to Ptolemy's Harmonics*.

The conclusive event of the seminar was the concert given by Stefan Hagel, who played the *phorminx* and the *aulos*, giving a demonstration of the technique that the Homeric singers used to reconcile melodic principles with the demands of the individual verse. On this very interactive occasion, all the participants in the seminar sang the Seikilos song on stage.

6 Ps.-Aristotle, *De Audibilibus*, and Other Relevant Texts on Acoustics (5-12 July 2009)

In 2009, the topic of the seminar was acoustic theory in Greek antiquity, relying on Ps.-Aristotle's *De Audibilibus* and other relevant texts. On 12 July, the seminar was framed by an evening event in the Hall of the Academy, which included a concert titled *Arias of Ariadne* (beginning with the famous *Lamento di Arianna* of Monteverdi), performed by Rosa Poulimenou (soprano) and Katherina Tsitsa (piano), and a lecture by Panagiotis Vlagopoulos on *Plato's Aesthetics and its Reception in Modernity*.

On 5 of July, Andrew Barker opened the seminar introducing the topic to students (*Reading of Relevant Texts on Ancient Acoustics*). The next day Egert Pöhlmann presented a session about *The Basic Principles of Acoustics and their Sources in Ancient Greek Theory* and, as an evening lecture, he contributed an *Introduction to De Audibilibus*. On 7 July, he started to read the text (800a-801b), which in the following days was treated by the other speakers: Andrew Barker (801b-803b) and Eleonora Rocconi (803b-804). Other guests of the seminar were: Daniel Delattre (Paris), who presented a paper called *Philodemus De Musica IV: Reconstruction of the Volume and of the Philosophical and Musiological Contents* (see Delattre 2007); Ourania Zachartzi (*Music in the Service of Love and Mystery*); Angelo Meriani (*Remarks on the First Latin Translation of Plutarch's De Musica; Carlo Valguglio, Brescia 1507*, cf. Meriani 2015); Stefan Hagel, who discussed the evidence for *aulos* reeds in antiquity, with a practical demonstration of the problems involved in reconstruction; Andromache Batziou (*Plutarch, Quaestionum convivalium libri IX: A Commentary on Book III Problem IX*), and Antonietta Provenza (*Empedocles and Music Therapy*, later published in Provenza 2014). Finally, Andrew Barker, Egert Pöhlmann, Eleonora Rocconi and the other participants discussed the main results of the seminar, showing how, despite the fact that some ideas in ancient acoustics came in many respects very close to modern theories, the Greeks were not able to come to a shared opinion about the speed of the propagation of sound.

7 Music in Plato's *Laws* (5-11 July 2010)

In 2010, the topic of the seminar was a discussion of relevant passages concerning music in Plato's *Laws*,¹ a text that in the following years would attract the specific attention of the community of scholars in the field of Classics (see, e.g., Peponi 2013 and Prauscello 2014). The morning sessions were then enriched by an abundance of evening lectures which, in most cases, had no special connection with the morning seminar. The week was concluded by a concert in the hall of the Academy, during which both ancient and modern Greek music was performed.

On the first two days Eleonora Rocconi commented on Plato's *Laws* 653c-667a (see Rocconi 2012), while the evening lectures were *Accessus ad Seminar-ia* (Panagiotis Vlagopoulos), *Philo of Alexandria on the Foundations of Music*

1 The material of this seminar is still available at <https://conferences.ionio.gr/sagrm/2010/en/home>.

(Andrew Barker), *On the Assessment of Music and its Instruments in Plato's Laws* (Lydia Goehr, Columbia NY) and *On Ideas of Musicality and Platonism in Renaissance Painting* (Klaus Krüger, FU Berlin). Then, on 7-8 July, Andrew Barker focused on Plato's *Laws* 667b-671a and 700a-701b. The evening lectures were *The Aristoxenian Theory of Musical Rhythm* (Stelios Psaroudakis, Athens), *Harmonics for Beginners: Baccheios' Eisagogē* (Christos Terzis, Athens), *Musical Remedies for Deadly Problems: Music Therapy in the Homeric Poems* (Antonietta Provenza, see Provenza 2009) and *A Commentary on Plato, Phaedrus 246-254* (Andromache Batziou). Finally, Egert Pöhlmann commented on Plato's *Laws* 798d-812e, followed by evening lectures titled *More about auloi* (Stefan Hagel), *The Rhythms of Aeolic Songs* (Joan Silva Barris), *Broken Rhythms: Materialising Social Time in the Khoros* (Barbara Kowalzig, London; the paper was later published as Kowalzig 2013) and *Music and Ethics in Plato and Plotinus* (Francesco Pelosi). On the last day all the speakers assembled for a round table pointing out that Plato, in the *Laws*, diverged from his rigid conception of poetry and music in the *Republic*, presenting *khoreia* as the most effective means for educating and bringing order to society and making allowance for the musical practice of his time.

8 Aristotle's *Politics* Book 8: the Role of Music in Education (4-9 July 2011)

From the beginnings of the seminars, it was obvious that most students had to cope with two main problems. The first had to do with the technical character of many musicological texts. The second was related to the fact that the most of them did not possess sufficient command of the ancient Greek language. This is the reason why, since 2005, the selected texts had been preliminarily explained in special preparatory courses. In 2011 (see Figure 2), an innovation was added to the usual formula of the Summer School: on the day before the sessions started, Andrew Barker gave a more general *Introduction to Greek Music and Musicology*, following the example experimented in the 2005 Seminars. Petros Andriotis (Corfu) and Andromache Batziou added translation classes for Greek students in modern Greek (3-8 July).

On the first day of the seminar, Eleonora Rocconi delivered an introductory lecture on the role of music in education during the Classical period, in Athens and elsewhere, in order to place Aristotle's account of the subject in its cultural context. She then treated the first three chapters of Aristotle's *Politics* 8, followed by Andrew Barker (chapters 4-5) and Egert Pöhlmann (chapters

6-7: these lectures were later published in Pöhlmann 2017a).² Evening lectures were delivered by Massimo Raffa (*Porphyry on Voice and Perception*), Christos Terzis (*Discussion of Dionysius' Technē Mousikē*, for his recently published edition of the text, see Terzis 2010), Tosca Lynch (*A Sophist in Disguise: A Reconstruction of Damon of Oa and his Role in Plato's Dialogues*, then published in Lynch 2013), Andromache Batziou (*The Art of the Auloi as a Disguise of Sophistication*), Stelios Psaroudakis (*How Complex Can a Complex Rhythm Be?*) and Stefan Hagel (*From Metre to Rhythm: Searching for Traces of a Path*).

Unfortunately, despite the intention to continue the investigation into the role of music in ancient education (with a plan to deal, in the following year, with the Epicurean attitude against music in Philodemus' *De Musica* and the sceptical view of its role in education in Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, Book 6),³ this was the last year of the seminar in Corfu. The economic crisis in Greece had reached the Ionian University: after failed attempts to find financial support, the seminars on Ancient Greek and Roman Music came to an end.

This was regretted by many: for eight years these events had afforded a platform where classical philologists, musicologists and students interested in the topic could meet and exchange opinions beyond academic boundaries. Especially for the younger scholars, these occasions had offered the opportunity to present new ideas to an audience of international experts. Many of these presentations became published papers, finding their way later into academic journals.⁴ The discussions went on also in less formal moments, for instance in the traditional Corfiot cafès and restaurants, where the participants were invited by the local organisers. Of course, ancient Greek music was not the only topic of the social conversations: many may remember the thrilling atmosphere, when in 2006 they watched the battle between Italy and France in the World Cup on television during the splendid goodbye party hosted by Panagiotis and Athena Vlagopoulos in their wonderful house.

Fortunately, however, a few years later the Corfu Seminar on Ancient Greek Music underwent a revival.

2 For the material of this seminar see <https://conferences.ionio.gr/sagrm/2011/en/home>.

3 Provisional title of seminar planned for 2012 was *Greek Texts from Philodemus to Philostratus: Responses to the Inherited Musical Tradition*.

4 See bibliography.

9 The Revival in Riva del Garda: Ps.-Aristotle's *Problems* Book 19 (30 June-5 July 2014)

In 2014, thanks to the efforts of Dr Tosca Lynch (Vienna; now Oxford), a new cultural association was established in Arco (Italy), with the aim of developing the study of ancient Greek music and of supporting projects in the field. The Society was called ARION and Mrs Ginetta Miorelli became President of this association, who very actively promoted events related to music in antiquity.

The first undertaking of ARION was the establishment of the *MOISA Research Seminars on Greek and Roman Music*: for this reason, the same text that had been analysed during the first seminar in Corfu was intentionally chosen (that is, Ps.-Aristotle's *Problems* Book 19, a Peripatetic collection of brief questions and suggested answers on various musical issues with a mainly didactic approach). The Riva seminars followed the format of their Corfiot model: the morning sessions were devoted to a specific text, taking place in the charming setting of the Chiesetta Miralago (an ancient deconsecrated chapel in a quiet park on the shore of Lake Garda), while in the evening lectures (which took place in the Conference Room of the Civic Museum, inside Riva's ancient castle) young and more mature scholars presented their most recent research and projects. In 2014 and 2015, the Riva seminar was preceded by the *MOISA International Summer School in Ancient Greek Music*, held at the University of Trento (Italy) and designed as a wider academic introduction to the numerous disciplines involved in this research field. These joint events, admirably organised under the responsible direction of Tosca Lynch, attracted an even greater number of students, more than in the previous years, proving that the topic of ancient music had acquired an important role within the international scholarly panorama.

In 2014, the morning sessions were led again by Egert Pöhlmann (*Introduction to the Pseudo-Aristotelian Problems; Selected Chapters of Ps.-Aristotle Probl. Book 11 and 19; Questions in Probl. 19 Touching the History of Music and the Performance of Music on the Stage*), Andrew Barker (*Selected Chapters of Ps.-Aristotle Probl. Book 19*, now in Barker 2015) and Eleonora Rocconi (*Selected Chapters of Ps.-Aristotle Probl. Book 19*). The discussions showed that this Peripatetic material is neither thematically consistent nor stylistically coherent, since the gradual accumulation of material over time leads to frequent conflicts between doctrines and to repetitions: nonetheless, some of the issues discussed (especially those concerned with the practical aspects of the production and perception of music) are otherwise unknown, so they are of particular importance to us.

Evening lectures on various topics about ancient Greek and Roman music and its reception were presented from many international scholars: Pauline LeVen, Yale (*Musical Myths: Animals, Aesthetics, and the Nature of Music*), Jon Solomon, Urbana-Champaign (*The Music of Ben-Hur*, now in Solomon 2016), Joan Silva Barris, Barcelona (*Rhythm and Text in the Lyric Parodos of Aeschylus' Agamemnon*), Stefan Hagel, Vienna (*Ancient Greek Musical Instruments*) and Massimo Raffa, Cosenza (*Alexander of Aphrodisias on Sound and its Perception*, then converged in Raffa 2016a). On the evening of 3 July, Stefan Hagel played on ancient instruments in the cortile of the Rocca of Riva del Garda in a concert titled *Da Omero alle corti ellenistiche: un viaggio musicale nella Grecia antica*, introduced by Tosca Lynch.

10 Aristoxenus' *Elementa Harmonica* (6-11 July 2015)

For the first time, in 2015 the seminar approached a strictly technical topic: the harmonic and rhythmic science developed by Aristoxenus of Tarentum, with a close reading of his main works and fragments. The morning sessions were led, as usual, by Egert Pöhlmann (*Aristoxenos, Life and Writings*, fr. 1-68, now in Pöhlmann 2018a), Eleonora Rocconi (*Introduction to Harmonics, Elementa Harmonica Book 1*) and Andrew Barker (*Elementa Harmonica Books 2 and 3*, papers read by Massimo Raffa), while Tosca Lynch introduced the *Elementa Rhythmica* during an evening session (see now Lynch 2016). Thanks to this rich overview of the Aristoxenian material (including the fragments), which gave substantial evidence about his enormous production in many different genres, the most familiar conception of Aristoxenus as a technical author was rediscovered and better focused.

Evening lectures were presented by Pauline LeVen, Yale (*Echo, Gramophone and the Invention of the Listener*, see now LeVen 2018), Stefan Hagel, Vienna (*What Glaucon Did not Know: The Ēthos of Ancient Metres*), Jon Solomon (*Popularizing and Commercializing Ancient Greek Music in the USA: The First Decade*), Marco Ercoles, Bologna (*Ancient Greek Scholarship on Tragic Metre and Music: The Scholia to Aeschylus*, see Ercoles 2015), Massimo Raffa, Cosenza (*Rehearsing on Stage? A Reading of the Parodos of Euripides' Orestes*, now in Raffa 2016b) and Francesco Pelosi, Pisa (*Presentation of the Research Project 'Philosophers and Music'. A Case Study: PHibeh 13, a Philosophical or a Musicological Debate?*, now in Pelosi 2017).

In the evening of 9 July, in the Parco Arciduciale of Arco, an extraordinary concert, titled *Gli strumenti musicali della Grecia antica: riascoltare i suoni perduti*, was performed by Stefan Hagel, on his reconstructed *auloi* and stringed

instruments, and by Justus Wilberg (Erlangen/Nuremberg), on his *hydraulis* reconstruction. Thanks to their interpretation of the most rewarding fragments from antiquity and to their elegant improvisations, both musicians succeeded in bringing ancient Greek and Roman music to life. The event was introduced by Tosca Lynch and commented on by Massimo Raffa, who also translated into Italian the performers' explanations, thus leading the large and particularly interested audience on a fascinating journey into the past.

11 **Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistai* (4-9 July 2016)**

The subject of the 11th Riva seminar was the reading of various passages concerned with music in the *Deipnosophistai* of Athenaeus of Naucratis, a text that in the past had been mainly used as a collection of earlier sources mediated by its author's antiquarian tendencies. The morning sessions (see Figure 3) were led by Egert Pöhlmann (*Athenaeus of Naukratis, Life and Work; Clearchus of Soloi and Callias of Athens in Athenaeus*), Donatella Restani (*Athenaeus Book 12: Music to Seduce Men, Music to Enjoy Food, Music to Rule Peoples*, see Restani, forthcoming), Angelo Meriani (*Aristoxenus on Music in Athenaeus*) and Eleonora Rocconi (*Professional Musicians in the Deipnosophists; Music and Cooking in Athenaeus' Deipnosophists*). Thanks to this overall picture of Athenaeus' material on music, the seminar revealed an intentional cultural agenda behind the scattered quotations of earlier evidence in the text, showing how Athenaeus consciously chose the more trivial and deliberately nontechnical topics because of their attractiveness for his Roman audience.

During this edition of the seminar, evening lectures on recent projects and research were presented by Angelo Meriani, Salerno (*Ancient Greek Musicology at Vittorino da Feltre's school*, now in Meriani 2016), Timothy Moore, Washington University, St. Louis (*Musical Medeas*, included in Moore, forthcoming), Marco Ercoles, Bologna (*The Music of Melanippides of Melos: Some Thoughts on the Ancient Testimonia*, see Ercoles 2017), Stefan Hagel, Vienna (*The Meroe Pipes*) and Egert Pöhlmann, Erlangen (*A Mesomedes Corpus of Late Antiquity with Musical Notation*, see Pöhlmann 2017b).

12 ***Mousikē* in Musical Handbooks: Ancient Models and Modern Views (3-8 July 2017)**

As a *Companion to Greek and Roman Music* is going to be published by Wiley-Blackwell (Lynch-Rocconi, forthcoming), in 2017 (see Figure 4) the Riva

seminar followed a slightly different schedule. While the morning sessions focused on some Aristoxenian musical handbooks (from Cleonides' *Introduction to Harmonics* to the *Anonyma Bellermanniana*, included as a continuation of the 2015 seminar on Aristoxenus' texts on harmonics), evening sessions were mainly organised as workshops, with the aim of presenting selected chapters of this future publication and to collect feedback from both colleagues and students. Besides this, some evening lectures were also presented, according to the usual format.

Egert Pöhlmann opened and closed the morning sessions with an *Introduction to the Genus of the ἐγγειρίδιον: Musical Handbooks from Euclides to Alypius* and a presentation of the *Anonyma Bellermanniana, an Agglomeration of Five Musical Handbooks* (now in Pöhlmann 2018b). Jon Solomon kindly provided the seminar's attendants with his unpublished critical edition of Cleonides' text (Solomon 1980), illustrating and commenting on its technicalities (*Introduction to Cleonides and chapters 1-7*) together with Eleonora Rocconi (*Cleonides chapters 8-11 and 12-14*). Finally, Andrew Barker dealt with another Aristoxenian treatise, Gaudentius (*Gaudentius, 'The Philosopher': Introduction to Harmonics*). In the workshops, chapters on *Harmonics* (Andrew Barker), *Notation* (Stefan Hagel), *Acoustics* (Egert Pöhlmann), *Musical Aesthetics* (Eleonora Rocconi), *Music and Emotions* (Francesco Pelosi), several aspects of reception (Donatella Restani: *Ancient Greek Music in Early Modern Italy: Musical Theory, Performance and Self-Representation*; Daniela Castaldo: *The Visual Heritage: Images and Symbols of Ancient Music*), *Greek Drama* (Marco Ercoles) and *Rhythmics* (Tosca Lynch) were widely discussed, especially by the students who were very helpful in pointing out possible misunderstandings and obscurities in the texts. Evening lectures were presented by Anna Conser, Columbia (*Pitch Accent and Melody in Tragic Song: A Methodology and Preliminary Findings*) and Stefan Hagel (*Anonyma Bellermanniana for Aulos Players*, now in Hagel 2018). On the evening of 6 July, the *Ludi Scaenici* (Roma), a group of Italian musicians dedicated to the research and performance of ancient Greek and especially Roman music, successfully performed with their replicas of ancient musical instruments of various kinds in the Rocca, in front of a large public audience.

13 Music and Rhetoric in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2-7 July 2018)

The 2018 Riva seminar broadened the usual topics by analysing the intersections between music and rhetoric in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' writings, especially within the *De compositione verborum*. This helped to put ancient theoretical thought on musical matters within a broader cultural context, providing

a better understanding of its connections with other theoretical disciplines developed in Hellenistic and Roman times. The morning sessions were led by Egert Pöhlmann (*Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Life and Writings; The Chapter De Voce/Περὶ Φωνῆς in Ancient Musicology and Rhetorics*), Eleonora Rocconi (*The Musical Voice in Antiquity; Dionysius of Halicarnassus' De comp. verb. selected chapters; The Notion of Synthesis between Sciences*), Andrew Barker (*Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Rome's Greek Musical Heritage*, published in Barker 2017, read by Tosca Lynch) and Donatella Restani (*Music and Rhetoric in Demetrius, On Style: From Antiquity to the Early Modern Age*). Evening lectures on several aspects of music in antiquity were presented by Konstantinos Melidis, Cyprus (*Muse ληκυθίζουσα: Callimachus, fr. 219 Pfeiffer*), Sean Gurd, Missouri (*Music, Hearing, Literature, and the Nature of Evidence*), Stefan Hagel, Vienna (*The Irrational Interpretation of Hexameter Rhythm: How Rational is it?*), Spencer Clavan, Oxford (*Hearing the Logos: Speusippus, Diogenes of Babylon, and the Epistemonikē Aisthesis*) and Sylvain Perrot, Strasbourg (*The Soundscape of Late Euripides' Drama and The Reception of New Music*). At the conclusion of the seminar, Egert Pöhlmann presented a special paper about *The Hymn of Mesomedes on Antinous (Inscription of Courion, Mitford No. 104)*, now published in this issue of *GRMS* (Pöhlmann 2019).

After that, the discussion about the subject of the next seminar was opened. With the exception of Philodemus, Sextus Empiricus and the Latin musicologists (Boethius, Martianus Capella), there are no authors specifically devoted to music whose work has not been touched upon by the seminars from 2004 to 2018. Since the 2019 edition of the seminar will be hosted by the University of Padova in Bressanone, Italy (where students regularly attend summer courses in various disciplines), the next theme will be connected with the long-term project of the Department of Cultural Heritage of that institution, titled 'Traveling Identities'. So the 2019 *MOISA Research Seminar on Ancient Greek and Roman Music* will take place in early July in Bressanone (Italy), organised by Prof. Paola Dessì (Padova) under the auspices of the MOISA Society, the ARION Society and the University of Padova, focusing on passages related to music in Pausanias' *Periegesis* (a second century AD geographic description of Greece that includes intriguing information about musical life in antiquity). The journey of scholarly research on ancient music is going to reach new, exciting destinations.

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FIGURE 1

Back, left to right: Egert Pöhlmann, Panagiotis Vlagopoulos and Nikos Xanthoulis; middle: Andrew Barker (left) and Massimo Raffa; front: Angelo Meriani and Eleonora Rocconi (Corfu, 2006).



FIGURE 2 Students and scholars around the table (Corfu, 2011).



FIGURE 3 Tosca Lynch, Egert Pöhlmann and the other participants around the table (Riva del Garda, 2016).



FIGURE 4 Jon Solomon (left) and Andrew Barker (Riva del Garda, 2017).

Τὸ καλόν as a Criterion for Judging Innovation (τὸ καινόν) in Greek Musical Pedagogy *'Ancient' versus 'New' Music in Pseudo-Plutarch's De musica*

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Abstract

The Pseudo-Plutarchan *De musica* provides us with the oldest history of Greek lyric poetry from pre-Homeric epic poetry to the lyric poetry of the fourth century BC. Importantly, the work also contains an evaluation of the role of music in the process of educating and training citizens. Pseudo-Plutarch (Aristoxenus) considers the καλόν in the aesthetic and ethical sense, which makes it incompatible with the καινόν dictated by the new poetic and musical season.

Keywords

Pseudo-Plutarch *De musica* – ancient and new music – Greek musical education

Modern scholars have studied the Pseudo-Plutarchan *De musica* mainly for its musical features, that is as a collection of technical reports on the history of Greek music. In a way, this approach to the book has been encouraged by the manuscript tradition itself, because the treatise is passed down through a large number of manuscripts containing the musical writings of various authors.¹

The oldest manuscript is the Marcianus Venetus (appendicis classis VI num. 10) of the XII century. However, the dialogue does not appear in Plutarch manuscripts prior to Planudes.² According to Wilamowitz, it was Maximus Planudes who, for the first time, attributed this book to Plutarch by inserting it,

1 Nicomachus, Pseudo-Euclid, Gaudentius, Bacchius, Claudius Ptolemy, Porphyry, etc.

2 See Ziegler 1966, VI; Irigoin 1987, CCXXXVIII-CCLXXXIV.

as no. 39, in the edition of Plutarch issued by him at the end of the XIII century; he assumed that Planudes had copied it from the *Corpus* of musical writings.³

Here, I would like to highlight a further aspect: the fact that this work provides us with the oldest history of Greek lyric poetry from pre-Homeric epic poetry to the lyric poetry of the IV century BC, together with the evaluation of its role in the education and training of the citizen. The discussion is set in the context of a symposium, on the second day of the festival of Kronos (2, 1131c): τῇ γοῦν δευτέρᾳ τῶν Κρονίων ἡμέρᾳ ὁ καλὸς Ὀνησικράτης ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν ἄνδρας μουσικῆς ἐπιστήμονας παρακεκλήκει· ἦσαν δὲ Σωτήριχος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς καὶ Λυσίας, εἰς τις τῶν σύνταξιν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβανόντων, 'On the second day of the Saturnalia the excellent Onesicrates had invited to his feast men who were experts in music: they were Soterichus of Alexandria, and Lysias, one of those who enjoyed a pension from Onesicrates'.⁴ Onesicrates proposes μουσική which in Greek means the combination of poetry and music, as a topic of discussion to those participating in the feast. In fact, there will be two monologues: the speech of Lysias, a kitharode, from chapter 3 to 13 and the speech of Soterichus, a music theorist, from chapter 14 to the end. Lysias traces the story of Greek lyric poetry recalling the authority of Heraclides Ponticus,⁵ who was first Plato's student and then Aristotle's. He begins his story by mentioning the invention of kitharody by Amphion, followed by a list of the names and, at times, of the works of the legendary kitharodes whose memory has been preserved by the Greek tradition (Linus, Thamyris, Philammon, etc.), in continuity with historical composers like Terpander and Stesichorus. In the field of aulody, he focuses on the inventions of Polymnestus, Sacadas, Clonas, Mimnermus; he also mentions Archilochus' versatile poetical and musical production, which will be specifically discussed in the second part of the treatise (28, 1140f-1141a). These names are all figures of the past proposed as models to be studied and imitated. Although there are anticipations in the previous chapters, it is not until chapter 12 that a debate on the relations between ancient and new music begins, which will then be developed in Soterichus' statement. The debate's narrative structure gives way to a theoretical discussion, which seems to originate not with Heraclides Ponticus, but with Aristoxenus (12, 1135c-d).⁶

3 Wilamowitz 1921, 76f. n. 3.

4 The Greek text of the *De musica* is from Ziegler 1966; the translations are from Barker 1984.

5 See *Mus.* 3, 1131f: 'Ἡρακλείδης δ' ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ <εὐδοκιμησάντων> (fr. 157 Wehrli) τὴν κιθαρωδίαν καὶ τὴν κιθαρωδικὴν ποίησιν πρῶτον φησιν Ἀμφίονα ἐπινοῆσαι τὸν Διὸς καὶ Ἀντιόπης, τοῦ πατρὸς δηλονότι διδάξαντος αὐτόν.

6 See Pöhlmann 2011, 16.

ἔστι δέ τις καὶ περὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν λόγος· γένη γάρ τινα καὶ εἶδη ῥυθμῶν προσεξευρέθη, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ μελοποιῶν τε καὶ ῥυθμοποιῶν. προτέρα μὲν γὰρ ἢ Τερπάνδρου καινοτομία καλὸν τινα τρόπον εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν εἰσήγαγε· Πολύμνηστος δὲ μετὰ τὸν Τερπάνδρειον τρόπον καινῷ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς μέντοι ἐχόμενος τοῦ καλοῦ τύπου, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Θαλήτας καὶ Σακάδας· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι κατὰ γε τὰς ῥυθμοποιίας καινοί, οὐκ ἐκβαίνοντες μέν<τοι> τοῦ καλοῦ τύπου. ἔστι δὲ <καί> τις Ἀλκμανικὴ καινοτομία καὶ Στησιχόρειος, καὶ αἰτᾶται οὐκ ἀφεστῶσαι τοῦ καλοῦ. Κρέξος δὲ καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Φιλόξενος καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότες ποιηταὶ πφορτικώτεροι καὶ φιλόκαινοι γεγόνασι, τὸ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ θεματικὸν νῦν ὀνομαζόμενον διώξαντες· τὴν γὰρ ὀλιγοχορδίαν τε καὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα καὶ σεμνότητα τῆς μουσικῆς παντελῶς ἀρχαϊκὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκεν.

We also possess an account of rhythms: several additional genera and species of rhythm were discovered, as were new genera and species of melodic and rhythmic composition. The earliest innovations, those of Terpander, introduced a certain nobility of style into music. After Terpander's style had been adopted, Polymnestus employed a new one, though he maintained its elevated character, as did Thaletas and Sacadas. They also made innovations in rhythmic composition, but without stepping outside the elevated manner. There is also an element of originality in Alcman and Stesichorus, but it still involves no retreat from the noble manner. Cræxus, Timotheus and Philoxenus, however, and other poets of the same period, displayed more vulgarity and passion for novelty, and pursued the style nowadays called "popular" or "profiteering". The result was that music limited to a few strings, and simple and dignified in character, went quite out of fashion.

Let us examine the passage in detail:

Lines 1f.: ἔστι δέ τις καὶ περὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν λόγος· γένη γάρ τινα καὶ εἶδη ῥυθμῶν προσεξευρέθη, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ μελοποιῶν τε καὶ ῥυθμοποιῶν, 'We also possess an account of rhythms: several additional genera and species of rhythm were discovered, as were new genera and species of melodic and rhythmic composition'. Pseudo-Plutarch rapidly touches on rhythms (ῥυθμοί), and on their effective poetic and musical realisations (ῥυθμοποιίαι).

Lines 2f.: προτέρα μὲν γὰρ ἢ Τερπάνδρου καινοτομία καλὸν τινα τρόπον εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν εἰσήγαγε, 'The earliest innovations, those of Terpander, introduced a certain nobility of style into music'. Terpander appears to be the first innovator of rhythms. The invention is not specified here, but it will be in chapter 28 (1140f), where the variety of Orthian melody that goes with the Orthian foot

and also the semantic trochee are attributed to him. They are feet of abnormal rhythmic duration: the first was a iambus composed of a tetraseme arsis and an octaseme thesis; the second was the opposite of the first: in fact it was composed of an octaseme thesis and a tetraseme arsis.⁷

Lines 3f.: Πολύμνηστος δὲ μετὰ τὸν Τερπάνδρειον τρόπον καινῶ ἐχρήσατο, καὶ αὐτὸς μέντοι ἐχόμενος τοῦ καλοῦ τύπου, 'After Terpander's style had been adopted, Polymnestus employed a new one, though he maintained its elevated character'. Polymnestus was a leading figure in the field of aulody, mentioned among the promoters of the second musical *katastasis* (9.1134b-c); no innovations on the rhythm were attributed to him other than the ones in the melodic field: he transformed the *nomos Orthios* from auletic to aulodic (10, 1134d) and invented the *Hypolydios tonos* (29, 1141b).

Lines 4f.: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Θαλήτας καὶ Σακάδας· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι κατὰ γε τὰς ῥυθμοποιίας καινοί, οὐκ ἐκβαίνοντες μέν<τοι> τοῦ καλοῦ τύπου, 'as did Thaletas and Sacadas. They also made innovations in rhythmic composition, but without stepping outside the elevated manner'. Thaletas of Crete brought to Greece the cretic and the paeonic rhythms, which he first used in his compositions (10, 1134e); in chapter 8, the *De musica* highlights the fact that Sacadas set elegiac poems to music, but there is no evidence that he was the first one to introduce this type of composition (8, 1134a).

Lines 5f.: ἔστι δὲ <καί> τις Ἀλκμανικὴ καινοτομία καὶ Στησιχόρειος, καὶ αὐταὶ οὐκ ἀφεστῶσαι τοῦ καλοῦ, 'There is also an element of originality in Alcman and Stesichorus, but it still involves no retreat from the noble manner'. On Alcman's καινοτομία, see *Suda* α 1289 Adler: πρῶτος δὲ εἰσήγαγε τὸ μὴ ἐξαμέτροις μελωδεῖν. The testimony seems to mean that Alcman was the first to compose melodies using dactylic verses which are different from the hexameter.⁸ In fact, the ancient tradition knew several structures of dactylic rhythm passed down under the name of 'Alcmanic'.⁹ Moreover, according to Hephaestion,¹⁰ he composed poems of fourteen strophes characterised by metrical-rhythmic variations between the first seven lines and the other seven. As to Stesichorus, ancient people knew verses in *kat'enoplion* rhythm, as well as in the dactylic, anapaestic, epitritic, all called by the name of 'Stesichorean' (see Stesich. TB22b Davies; Tb14-Tb19 Ercoles). Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in an essay on rhythmic innovations from the archaic age to the "new dithyramb poetry", states that

7 See Aristid. Quint. *Mus.* 36.3-6 W.-I.; Mart. Cap. 9.380.1-11 Willis.

8 According to the testimony Alcman was not the first to compose melodies in verses different from the dactylic hexameter because he was preceded at least by Terpander and Polymnaestus.

9 See Calame 1983, 225-9; Einarson-De Lacy, *ad loc.* (379-81).

10 Heph. p. 74.15-22 Consbr.

Stesichorus had extended the rhythmic periods by dividing them into several *metra* and *cola* for the love of variety.¹¹ That is what we can actually find in papyrus fragments, especially in the so-called “*Thebais*” (fr.222(b) Page/Davies).¹²

All the innovations of the archaic age, from Terpander to Alcman and Stesichorus, therefore, are in line with the *καλόν*, a term that appears four times at the end of each sentence. The Italian word ‘bello’ and the English ‘beautiful’ do not even begin to describe the Greek sense of the word *καλόν*, which does not have a purely aesthetic meaning, but both aesthetic and ethical, in a total fusion of the two elements. Even standing by itself, it has the same value as the expression *καλόν καὶ ἀγαθόν*, not in the sense of ‘beautiful and good’, but ‘beautiful and noble inside and outside’, endowed by that refinement on the outside (in gesture and poise), which is at the same time an expression and a factor of inner nobility. The *καλόν*, in music, arises from eurhythm and euphony which, through singing, dancing or even listening, educate people not only in beauty, but also in the good. In this passage the relationship between *καινόν*, ‘new’, ‘innovation’, and *καλόν*, ‘nobility’, ‘dignity’, is potentially contentious: innovation, read as a transgression of the rules set by tradition to preserve the common good, represents the danger of a deviation from the *καλόν*; however, it is valued insofar as it succeeds in enriching and reinvigorating artistic production, without stepping away from that value. Here, the writer emphasises that all the past musical innovators always succeeded in squaring this circle, because they were animated by the ideal *καλόν* as opposed to modern musicians, about whom he talks immediately after. The latter, on the contrary, have indulged and still indulge in functional innovation, only for the audience’s pleasure and the author’s success, irrespective of the *καλόν*, without the fear of slipping into the *αἰσχρόν*, that is the ‘ignoble’, the ‘ungraceful’ and the ‘anti-educating’, on a singing, gestural and ethical level.

The author of the *De musica* mentions composers of the so-called ‘new dithyramb’ such as Crexus, Timotheus and Philoxenus. Later, the treatise attributes to Crexus the introduction of the alternation of singing and recitation in the dithyramb (28, 1141b); Timotheus and Philoxenus were among the most significant and original members of this poetic-musical season: the first one famous especially for the innovations brought to *nomos*; the second, for the innovations brought to dithyramb (see l. 8 φιλόκαινοι). According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus,¹³ Timotheus and Philoxenus ‘took the liberty that bore the

11 See Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 19.7, highlighted by Lasserre 1954, 162 (*ad loc.*).

12 See the iambic dimeter (str. 6) and the trochaic dimeter (ep. 3) in an enoplian context, reported by Ercoles 2009, 163.

13 Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 19.8.

licence' with rhythms, as in fact their fragments show.¹⁴ According to traditionalist theorists, among whom clearly was the source of this chapter of the *De musica* (most likely Aristoxenus: see *supra*, n. 8), these poet-musicians and others of the same era, moved away from the *καλόν* to cultivate a style which the audience would have appreciated more.

Soterichus, as we have seen, begins to speak in chapter 14. Although he does not avoid historical issues, which are the distinctive feature of Lysias' speech, he focuses his speech on musical aesthetics and ethics; on the importance of musical education and its usefulness for the formation of the individual, and for the constitution of a well-governed city; finally, on the best ways to achieve this competence. He begins with the premise that music is noble, as it is an invention of the gods, and Apollo in particular.¹⁵ He brings up, in testimony, an ancient statue of Apollo, which represents the god holding a bow in his right hand and in his left hand the Charites, each one holding a musical instrument: one holds the lyre, another the *auloi*, and the one in the middle brings the pipes of Pan to her lips.¹⁶ Music is, therefore, not only associated with the divinity of Apollo, but also with the Charites, who are the personification of beauty and grace. They significantly allude to the beauty and grace (*χάρις*) of the music made by the stringed and wind instruments they hold in their hands. However, praise is given to the music of the past, since after the description of the statue, Soterichus adds (15, 1136b): 'In ancient times people treated music in accordance with its proper status, just as they treated all their other activities. Nowadays, musicians have rejected its more dignified aspects (*τὰ σεμνά*), and in place of that manly and inspired music, beloved of the gods, they bring into the theatres a music of effeminate twitterings (*κατεαγγίαν καὶ κωτίλην*). Pseudo-Plutarch continues by saying that modern music, enervate and seducing, is composed to be performed in theatres. In ancient times, instead, there were no theatres, therefore music continued to echo in sacred places, in which it was played to honour the gods and praise brave men.¹⁷ These surely are passages of Aristoxenian origin, as Angelo Meriani has demonstrated on the basis of a contextual and lexical comparison with Themistius and Athenaeus.¹⁸

14 See Hordern 2002; Fongoni 2014.

15 *Mus.* 14, 1136b: *σεμνὴ οὖν κατὰ πάντα ἡ μουσική, θεῶν εὐρημα οὔσα.*

16 In reality, the statue held the bow in his left hand, the Charites in his right hand: see Micheli 1995.

17 See also *Mus.* 27, 1140de.

18 Respectively Them. *Or.* 33.364bc = Aristox. fr. 70 Wehrli; Ath. 14.632a = Aristox. fr. 124 Wehrli. On the Aristoxenian ascendance of these lines of the *De musica*, see Meriani 2003, 77-80.

The educational project, presented by the character Soterichus, retains the ethical theory of music according to Plato and Damon, and accepted also from Aristoxenus, albeit with some differences.¹⁹ It supported, by empirical and experimental methods, the connection between music and the psychological reactions of its listeners. In ancient times, says Soterichus, musical education could direct young people towards a body language inspired by beauty (τὸ εὖσχημον) at all times and in any activity, in peace and in war (26, 1140b):

φανερὸν οὖν ἐκ τούτων, ὅτι τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰκότως μάλιστα πάντων ἐμέλησε πεπαιδεῦσθαι μουσικῇ. τῶν γὰρ νέων τὰς ψυχὰς ὥντο δεῖν διὰ μουσικῆς πλάττειν τε καὶ ῥυθμίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ εὖσχημον, χρησίμης δηλονότι τῆς μουσικῆς ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς πάντα καιρὸν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐσπουδασμένην πράξιν, προηγουμένως δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους.

These points make it clear that it was entirely reasonable for the Greeks of ancient times to be concerned most of all with musical education. They believed that they ought to mould and structure the souls of the young through music towards gracefulness and decorum (ἐπὶ τὸ εὖσχημον), evidently on the grounds that music is of value in dealing with all circumstances and for every action that is seriously undertaken, and especially in facing the dangers of wars.

Like καλόν, the word εὖσχημον has both an ethical and aesthetic connotation; it means 'elegant in figure and harmonious in the soul'. We can also find it in Plato's *Republic*, with reference to the guardian, who should prove not to be bewitched by anything and maintains a noble behaviour at all times:²⁰

καὶ θεατέον ... εἰ δυσγοήτευτος καὶ εὐσχήμων ἐν πᾶσι φαίνεται, φύλαξ αὐτοῦ ὦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ μουσικῆς ἥς ἐμάνθανεν, εὐρυθμὸν τε καὶ εὐάρμοστον ἑαυτὸν ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις παρέχων.

we need to check ... if he rejects seduction and is always harmonious (εὐσχήμων), being the guardian of himself and of the music he learnt, and if he has rhythmical and graceful behaviour.

19 A brief but clear analysis of the theory on the musical *ēthos* is Rossi 2000; particularly on Aristoxenus, see Rocconi 2012.

20 Pl. *R.* 413de.

Therefore, according to both Plato and Pseudo-Plutarch, music has the power to 'harmonize' those who are brought up with it. However, in the era of the 'new dithyramb', musical style degenerates and loses its educational character and those who devote themselves to it are only interested in satisfying theatrical audiences. Pseudo-Plutarch hopelessly continues the discourse on musical education in these terms (27, 1140e):

ἐπὶ μέντοι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων τοσοῦτον ἐπιδέδωκε τὸ τῆς διαφθορᾶς εἶδος, ὥστε τοῦ μὲν παιδευτικοῦ τρόπου μηδεμίαν μνείαν μηδ' ἀντίληψιν εἶναι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς μουσικῆς ἀπτομένους πρὸς τὴν θεατρικὴν προσκεχωρηκέναι μούσαν.

But in our own times the corrupt kind of music has made such headway that no one ever mentions the educational sort or even understands it, and everyone who practises music has joined forces with the music of the theatre.²¹

We are finding that the *Leitmotiv*, in Soterichus' speech, is the idea that ancient music is better than modern music and that the decadence of the latter provokes the decadence of education and custom. We have seen this idea being developed in previous passages: we also find it in chapter 31, the examination of which will end my paper. It relates a story that happened to Telesias of Thebes, who was not mentioned in any other source, but who may have been a musician of the popular Theban school of *aulos*-playing, which flourished between the V and IV century BC.²² In its narrative, the relationship between the 'beautiful music' of the past and the 'novelties' introduced by new musicians clearly emerges (31, 1142bc):

ὅτι δὲ παρὰ τὰς ἀγωγὰς καὶ τὰς μαθήσεις διόρθωσις ἢ διαστροφή γίγνεται, δῆλον Ἀριστόξενος ἐποίησε (fr. 76 Wehrli). τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἡλικίαν φησὶ Τελεσίᾳ τῷ Θηβαίῳ συμβῆναι νέῳ μὲν ὄντι τραφῆναι ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ μουσικῇ, καὶ μαθεῖν ἄλλα τε τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ Πινδάρου, τὰ τε Διονυσίου τοῦ Θηβαίου καὶ τὰ Λάμπρου καὶ τὰ Πρατίνου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὅσοι τῶν λυρικῶν ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ποιηταὶ κρουμάτων ἀγαθοί· καὶ αὐλήσας δὲ

21 It should be noted that in the *De musica*, which dates back to the II-III century AD, we can often find expressions such as ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων (l. 1) or the adverb of time νῦν referring to events or realities of the IV century BC, contemporaneous to sources quoted, in this case, by Aristoxenus. See *Mus.* 5, 1133b; 15, 1136b; 20, 1137f, etc.

22 See Roesch 1995.

καλῶς καὶ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς συμπάσης παιδείας ἱκανῶς διαπονηθῆναι· παραλλάξαντα δὲ τὴν τῆς ἀκμῆς ἡλικίαν, οὕτω σφόδρα ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς σκηνικῆς τε καὶ ποικίλης μουσικῆς, ὥς καταφρονῆσαι τῶν καλῶν ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς ἀνετράφη, τὰ Φιλοξένου δὲ καὶ Τιμοθέου ἐκμανθάνειν, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τὰ ποικιλώτατα καὶ πλείστην ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντα καινοτομίαν· ὁρμήσαντά τ' ἐπὶ τὸ ποιεῖν μέλη καὶ διαπειρώμενον ἀμφοτέρων τῶν τρόπων, τοῦ τε Πινδαρείου καὶ τοῦ Φιλοξενείου, μὴ δύνασθαι κατορθοῦν ἐν τῷ Φιλοξενείῳ γένει· γεγενῆσθαι δ' αἰτίαν τὴν ἐκ παιδὸς καλλίστην ἀγωγὴν.

It is made clear by Aristoxenus that correct or distorted practice has its source in training and teaching. Thus it happened in his own time, he says, that when Telesias of Thebes was young he was brought up on the best sort of music (τραφῆναι ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ μουσικῇ): among the highly reputable composers whose music he learned were Pindar, Dionysius of Thebes, Lamprus and Pratinas, and the other lyric composers who produced good instrumental pieces. He also performed excellently on the *aulos*, and made a thorough study of all the other elements of a complete education. But when he had passed the prime of his life he was so completely seduced by the complicated sort of theatrical music (οὕτω σφόδρα ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς σκηνικῆς τε καὶ ποικίλης μουσικῆς) that he came to despise the fine compositions on which he had been brought up, and learned very carefully those of Philoxenus and Timotheus, particularly the most complicated of their pieces, and the ones with the maximum amount of innovation (τὰ Φιλοξένου δὲ καὶ Τιμοθέου ἐκμανθάνειν, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τὰ ποικιλώτατα καὶ πλείστην ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντα καινοτομίαν). When he then set out to compose melodies, and tried his hand at both styles—that of Pindar and that of Philoxenus—he could achieve no success at all in Philoxenus' manner. And the reason lay in the excellent training he had from his childhood.

The whole chapter is taken from the treatise *Περὶ μουσικῆς* of Aristoxenus (fr. 76 Wehrli), this time explicitly cited by Pseudo-Plutarch. Telesias had been brought up on the most beautiful music (l. 3 ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ μουσικῇ) and had learnt compositions of famous masters including Pindar and other poets who also composed musical accompaniments. Following Pseudo-Plutarch's view, those poets and composers, like all the great poets and ancient musicians, introduced innovations always in the name of nobility and decorum.²³ Their

23 See *Mus.* 28, 1140ef: εἴποι τις 'ὦ τᾶν, οὐδὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων προσεξεύρηται καὶ κεκαينوτόμηται,' φημί καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι προσεξεύρηται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ πρέποντος.

music is 'the most beautiful' because they were inspired by the ethical ideal of 'beauty', unlike the original representatives of the new music, Philoxenus and Timotheus, who introduced innovations regardless of combining 'beauty' with 'new'. Telesias was fascinated by the new type of music, especially by the most virtuous and innovative compositions (l. 9 τὰ ποικιλώτατα καὶ πλείστην ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντα καινοτομίαν). However, when he began composing melodies following the new style, he failed because of the apprenticeship he had undergone since he was a boy.²⁴ With this story, Pseudo-Plutarch (Aristoxenus) suggests that even those who have had a proper education may be charmed by theatre and varied music, but, eventually, they will go back to the beautiful music of the past thanks to *typoi*, implanted in their minds during the educational process, mental patterns and implicit messages indelibly imprinted that will condition people's personalities.

Aristoxenus, on the one hand, adopts the Platonic theory of the *τύποι*, outlined in the second book of the *Republic*;²⁵ on the other hand, he considers the *καλόν*, in the aesthetic and ethical sense, incompatible with the *καινόν* dictated by the new poetic and musical season.

At the beginning of chapter 32, 1142c of the *De musica*, certainly from Aristoxenus, we find the theoretical indication of how to use music well and appropriately (*καλῶς καὶ κεκριμένως*): imitating the old style, completing the study of music with that of other doctrines, and above all instituting philosophy as guide, because only philosophy is capable of evaluating the right measure (*τὸ πρέπον μέτρον*) and of establishing its utility (*τὸ χρήσιμον*).²⁶

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24 About Telesias and the Theban school of *aulos*-playing (in the context of 'New Music'), configured as third *katastasis*, see Fongoni 2006; Gostoli 2011; the story of Telesias, in relation to the ethical theory of Aristoxenus, is discussed by Barker 2007b, 102; 247-9; 257f.

25 Pl. R. 378d-e; see Cerri 2007, 28-38.

26 On this passage, and in general on the chapters 31-36 of *De musica*, very in depth and enlightening studies are Barker 2007a; Rocconi 2005; Rocconi 2012, 84-6.

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New Music and Early Peripatetic Scholarship

The 'Degeneration' of Music as a Historiographical Turning Point

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Abstract

This paper aims at presenting a preliminary survey of Peripatetic statements about the so-called 'New Music' as a significant turning point in musical history, addressed by most of the main exponents of the Peripatos as part of a wider engagement in the study of μουσική. The establishment of a 'history of music', whose main phases are represented by its origins, its development through Archaic and Classical times and, eventually, its corruption into a 'degenerated' musical style, is crucial in the Peripatetic foundation of μουσική as a scholarly field of enquiry and is inherited by later sources that rely largely on Peripatetic materials, namely the pseudo-Plutarchaeon *De musica*.

Keywords

New Music – Peripatos – ancient Greek music – history of music – ancient scholarship

In recent years, thanks to the pioneering research pursued first and foremost by Andrew Barker, Greek musical historiography has shown itself as a new and promising field of investigation within the overall framework of ancient musical studies.¹ Already in the 5th century BC the Greeks were aware of the diachronic development of their musical practice, as well as of the evolution of poetic genres and contexts in which musical performances were held, as shown by the remnants of writings such as the *Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν τε καὶ μουσικῶν* by Glaucus of Rhegium and the *Καρνεονίκαί* by Hellanicus of

¹ Barker 2014: see especially the *Introduction* (11-3).

Mitylene.² Yet it is from the late 4th century BC onwards, i.e. from the beginning of the Hellenistic period, that the history of music appears to be clearly recognized as an organic part of the theoretical study of μουσική. This happens as part of a more general process that takes place during the Hellenistic age, namely the division of human knowledge into distinct areas to be systematically investigated through specific approaches and methodologies. As it is well known, such intellectual effort was initially carried out by Aristotle and his school, who may be considered the forerunners of Hellenistic scholarship.³ Within this general framework, the establishment of μουσική as a proper τέχνη, to be made the object of specific scholarly literature, did not represent an exception.

Before moving into greater detail, I would like to make another general remark concerning early Peripatetic scholarship: beginning with Aristotle himself, a relevant feature of his school seems to have been the establishment of a close link between the theoretical arrangement of a τέχνη and the awareness of its historical development. In other words, it is Aristotle, followed by his pupils, who puts forward the idea that the history of a discipline is an essential part of its theoretical foundation, establishing this as a general methodological prerequisite.⁴ This idea is expressed very clearly, although not in a 'systematic' way, in the *Poetics*, concerning the origins and the historical development of theatrical genres, and especially tragedy, to which the well-known statement of *Poet.* 1449a refers:

γενομένη δ' οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικῆς ... κατὰ μικρὸν ἡϋξήθη
προαγόντων ὅσον ἐρίγνετο φανερόν αὐτῆς· καὶ πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα
ἢ τραγωδία ἐπαύσατο, ἐπεὶ ἔσχε τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν.

Anyhow, when it came into being from an improvisatory origin [...] it was gradually enhanced as poets developed the potential they saw in it. And

2 An exhaustive overview of both Glaucus and Hellanicus in Barker 2014, 29-51. For a more general insight into 'literary history' before Aristotle see Montanari 2017, 157-63.

3 For a synthetic overview concerning the relationship between the Peripatos and Alexandria, as well as the critical debate on the topic, see Montana 2015, 76-82, with all the bibliographical references quoted there. A recent and in-depth analysis of the issue is provided by Bouchard 2016 (on which see also Montana 2017, 443-7). See also Montanari 2014, 79-102.

4 On Aristotle as a 'literary historian' see especially Montanari 2017, 153-69, and Halliwell 2017, 189-211. On the elaboration of a 'historiographical project' within the Peripatos concerning the history of philosophical and scientific knowledge (with particular reference to Theophrastus, Eudemus' and Menon's writings, which are not of interest in this paper) see especially Zhmud 2003, 109-26, and, more extensively, 2006, 117-65.

after going through many changes tragedy ceased to evolve, since it had achieved its own nature.

Transl. HALLIWELL 1995

Thus the diachronic development of tragedy “is set in connection with an idea of progress, such that every poetic form has its own beginnings, and develops over time until, in a given historical period, it reaches its state of perfection, at which point its nature is fully realized”.⁵ In other words, the idea of the ‘history of a discipline’ outlined here is intrinsically related to Aristotle’s teleological conception, i.e. to his theoretical approach to the subject, rather than something conceived as an independent field of enquiry to be pursued for its own sake.⁶ Far from being a specific feature of the theoretical study of literary genres, this idea becomes intrinsically operative in several branches of early Peripatetic scholarship, informing the ways in which each one is addressed by the scholars who deal with it.⁷

The scholarly treatment of μουσική within this context is no exception. Indeed, a certain degree of historical awareness is, in a sense, organic to the study of μουσική within the Peripatos. Such an attitude, no matter how ‘collateral’ it was in its original setting, is still attested by later sources that rely largely on 4th-century BC Peripatetic materials, e.g. the pseudo-Plutarchaeon *De musica*. Its opening chapters recall the widespread engagement in musical history within the main 4th-century BC philosophical schools, i.e. the Platonic Academy and the Peripatos (and it is with the latter that we are concerned). Moreover, they seem to identify a sort of established, ‘canonical’ periodization, whose main turning points are hinted at in a couple of passages from chapters 2-3. In the first passage, Onesicrates, host at the fictional symposium in which the dialogue is set, provides his guests, Lysias and Soterichus, with a sort of general outline of the topics he wants them to address ([Plut.] *Mus.* 2.1131e):

ἄγε δὴ, ὦ μουσικῆς θιασῶται, τίς πρῶτος ἐχρήσατο μουσικῇ, ἀναμνήσατε τοὺς ἐταίρους, καὶ τί εὔρε πρὸς αὐξήσιν ταύτης ὁ χρόνος καὶ τίνες εὐδόκιμοι γεγόνασιν τῶν τὴν μουσικὴν ἐπιστήμην μεταχειρισμένων ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ εἰς πόσα καὶ εἰς τίνα χρήσιμον τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα.’ ταῦτα μὲν εἶπεν ὁ διδάσκαλος.

“So come now, you devotees of music, and recount to our companions who it was that first employed music, what advances in it time has discovered, and who has achieved fame, among those who have undertaken

5 Montanari 2017, 156.

6 Montanari 2017, 156.

7 See n. 4.

the science of music: and tell us also how many purposes, and what kinds of purposes, the practice of music serves". That was what our teacher said.

Transl. BARKER 1984

With these words, Onesicrates does not only imply that musical theory and musical history are strictly connected fields of investigation—or that a good knowledge of the musical past is what defines a μουσικῆς θιασώτης as such. He also highlights the most significant chronological phases that, in his view, ought to be investigated: the birth of music, its πρῶτος εὐρηγῆς as the Greeks usually put it, and its development through Archaic and Classical times, described as a succession of other discoveries and innovations (τί εὔρε πρὸς αὔξησιν ταύτης ὁ χρόνος) and renowned musicians (τίνες εὐδόκιμοι γεγόνασιν). Slightly apart (ἀλλὰ μὴν καί), Onesicrates also adds a reference to the ethical and pedagogical value of music (εἰς πόσα καὶ εἰς τίνα χρήσιμον τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα), which in ancient speculation is never completely separated from a purely technical investigation.

Thus the passage may be read both as a preliminary sketch of the issues that shall be addressed within the dialogue and as a sort of summary of the topics that were commonplace in previous musical writings and that, in fact, can be traced back to the 4th century BC. The use of the word αὔξεις to describe the evolution of the discipline is particularly intriguing in this context, as it recalls Aristotle's description of the gradual evolution of tragedy (ἡ τραγωδία ... κατὰ μικρὸν ηὐξήθη) in the *Poetics* (see above).

The second passage ([Plut.] *Mus.* 3.1131f) provides a significant insight into what falls into the chronological pattern outlined before:

ὁ δὲ Λυσίας ὑπολαβὼν· ‘παρὰ πολλοῖς’ ἔφη ‘ἐζητημένον πρόβλημα ἐπιζητεῖς, ἀγαθὲ Ὀνησίκρατες. τῶν τε γὰρ Πλατωνικῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου φιλοσόφων οἱ ἄριστοι περὶ τε τῆς ἀρχαίας μουσικῆς συντάξαι ἐσπούδασαν καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτῇ γεγεννημένης παραφθορᾶς’.

“The question you raise, noble Onesicrates”, replied Lysias, “is one which many have sought to answer. Most of the Platonists and the best of the Peripatetics felt it important to write about ancient music and about music’s degeneration in their own times”.

Transl. BARKER 1984

Here, at the opening of Lysias’ speech, the ‘neutral’ sketch outlined previously by Onesicrates is replaced by the attribution to both the Academics and the Peripatetics of a more deeply ‘ideological’ interpretation of the development

of musical history. On one side stands the ἀρχαία μουσική; on the other its subsequent παραφθορά, 'degeneration'. This twofold conception does not contradict the diachronic development illustrated in the previous passage, but adds another crucial concept to it: among the chronological steps individuated before, some refer to the domain of traditional 'old' music, whereas others are of a 'revolutionary' sort, which is to say aesthetically and/or ethically unacceptable. In other words, some musical innovations are acceptable inasmuch as they are compatible with the old-fashioned, sober, traditional musical style, whereas others are unacceptable due to their 'subversive' character.⁸

As it is well known, the author of the *De musica*, whoever he was, derived his conservative view of musical history from his 4th-century BC sources, first and foremost Aristoxenus and Heraclides Ponticus. I am not going to assess the extent of their contribution to the *De musica*, not only because the topic has been extensively debated by modern scholars,⁹ but also because in what follows I shall focus on other sources. I only note that, as it has already been suggested, the expressions τῶν Πλατωνικῶν οἱ πλείστοι and τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου φιλοσόφων οἱ ἄριστοι might be two periphrastic formulas alluding, respectively, to Heraclides and Aristoxenus themselves, as the most outstanding representatives of each philosophical school concerning the study of music.¹⁰ Be that as it may, their massive presence in the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise is precisely what allows us to see, even in the introductory chapters, the survival of a scholarly approach that can be traced back to the 4th century BC. Furthermore, the 'shifting' position of Heraclides between the Academy and the Peripatos (even though the author of the *De musica* might have thought of Heraclides as a Platonist *tout court*) may reinforce the picture of the predominant role of Aristotle's school in such a process (in any case, the distinction between 'Aristotelians' and 'Platonists' expressed in the passage should probably be seen as a little less clear-cut than it might appear at first sight).¹¹

8 On the importance of this general idea in the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise see especially Meriani 2003, 75. See also Ercoles 2009, 146.

9 In particular, Andrew Barker's recent enquiries on the subject provide a reliable and up-to-date *status quaestionis*: concerning Heraclides, see Barker 2009, 278–81; for Aristoxenus, Barker 2012, 4f.; for a synthetic overview Barker 2014, 29f. For a completely different assessment of the extent of Heraclides' contribution to the *De musica*, see Gottshalk 1980.

10 See especially Lasserre 1954, 153.

11 The actual belonging of Heraclides to the Peripatos is, at least, controversial: the most skeptical view is expressed by Mejer 2009, 27–49. Nevertheless, he admits "a link between Heraclides and the Peripatetic school" and that "some of the early Peripatetics were also students of Plato and it is not always possible to decide whether one school diverges from the other". Conversely, Wehrli concluded his analysis of Heraclides' connections with various Peripatetic scholars, as well as his own influence on them concerning specific

This brief analysis of the two passages from the *De musica* has served as a starting point to establish two assumptions: first, the idea that the theoretical study of music is intrinsically related to its history may be traced back to the 4th-century BC writings on which the *De musica* compiler relies, and can be more specifically recognized as a Peripatetic concept; secondly, the establishment of a historiographical framework is organic to this approach and may be described as a succession of ‘first discoveries’ and subsequent innovations (and, of course, innovators), some of which, from a certain moment onwards, are considered responsible for the corruption of ancient musical tradition and the development of a ‘degenerated’ musical style. What I shall now do is focus on some fragmentary passages of Peripatetic writers in which the concept of ‘revolution’ as a *turning point* of musical history is more clearly expressed, trying to identify their different purposes and points of view.

The first text I shall consider is the well-known passage from section 19 of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*, which provides a socio-historical explanation of the changes in musical style that occurred at the end of 5th century BC (*Prob.* 19.15):

διὰ τί οἱ μὲν νόμοι οὐκ ἐν ἀντιστρόφοις ἐποιοῦντο, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ᾠδαὶ αἱ χορικάι; ἢ ὅτι οἱ μὲν νόμοι ἀγωνιστῶν ἦσαν, ὧν ἤδη μιμεῖσθαι δυναμένων καὶ διατείνεσθαι ἢ ᾧ δὴ ἐγίνετο μακρὰ καὶ πολυειδής; καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ τὰ μέλη τῇ μιμήσει ἠκολούθει αἰεὶ ἕτερα γινόμενα. μᾶλλον γὰρ τῷ μέλει ἀνάγκη μιμεῖσθαι ἢ τοῖς ῥήμασιν. διὸ καὶ οἱ διθύραμβοι, ἐπειδὴ μιμητικοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν ἀντιστρόφους, πρότερον δὲ εἶχον. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι ἐχόρευον αὐτοὶ πολλοὺς οὖν ἀγωνιστικῶς ᾄδειν χαλεπὸν ἦν, ὥστε ἐναρμονία μέλη ἐνήδον. μεταβάλλειν γὰρ πολλὰς μεταβολὰς τῷ ἐνὶ ῥᾶον ἢ τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ τῷ ἀγωνιστῇ ἢ τοῖς τὸ ἦθος φυλάττουσιν κτλ.

Why were *nomoi* not composed in antistrophes, whereas the other songs (the choral ones) were? Is it because *nomoi* were for professional competitors, who being already able to perform imitations and exert themselves for a sustained period, their song became long and multiform? Like the words, then, the melodies too followed the imitation in being continually varied. For it was more necessary to imitate by means of the melody than by means of the words. And this is why the dithyrambs, when they became imitative, no longer had antistrophes, as they did before. Now the reason is that in the old days the free men themselves performed

themes, by stating that he should be considered a member of the Peripatos “in a broader sense” (Wehrli 1969, 60f.).

in the choruses; hence it was difficult for many to sing together like professional competitors, so that they sang melodies in a single *harmonia*; for it is easier for one person to execute many modulations than it is for many, and it is easier for the professional competitor than it is for those who preserve the character [of the music].

Transl. MAYHEW 2011

The main reason for the shift from strophic to non-strophic *nomoi* is here identified with the fact that, while in ancient times such compositions were performed by non-professional choruses, from a certain time onwards they began to be sung by professional musicians. This explanation is reinforced by a relevant aesthetic aspect: the performers' increasing efforts towards the achievement of *μίμησις*. It is their pursuit of *μίμησις* that explains the complexity and variety (*μακρὰ καὶ πολυειδής*) of the new musical patterns, for which the 'old', regular strophic structure is no longer suitable.¹²

The *Problemata*, as it is widely known, provide a sort of *status quaestionis* regarding the various topics that were addressed within the Peripatos;¹³ it seems likely that its musical sections, namely Books 11 and 19—to which our passage belongs—reflect scholarly discussion that goes back, approximately, to the first half-century after Aristotle's death.¹⁴ This means that the passage might provide a significant insight into the early Peripatetic discussion *περὶ ἁρμονίαν* (which is the title of Book 19). The relevance of 'musical history' (broadly conceived as an interest in the stylistic and technical evolution of musical genres) in the domain of harmonics may thus be confirmed as an early Peripatetic idea, and the same may be said of the relevance of New Music as a 'turning point' to be investigated from a *historical* point of view. Nor is this the only reference to the bygone musical culture that we find in Book 19 of the *Problemata*: an interest in the historical evolution of music is also attested by other passages from the same book, namely 19.7, 25 and 32, which reconnect some issues concerning the nomenclature of the notes to the ancient structure of the octave, which was made up of seven notes (*ἑπτάχορδος*) instead of eight, and others.

Unlike most of the Peripatetic fragments that we shall examine below, the text of *Prob.* 19.15 lacks any aesthetic, ethical or moral judgement of the 'new' musical style and, although this is perfectly consistent with the characteristics

¹² Cf. Ferrini 2002, xxxv.

¹³ See Barker 1989, 85.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Barker 1989, 85; for a thorough study of the two books see Petrucci 2011, 175–238.

of the *Problemata* as a genre of scholarly literature,¹⁵ it might nevertheless appear quite striking. In antiquity the idea of a musical ‘revolution’ is usually imbued with negative connotations and, except for the composers themselves, no one, among our surviving sources, seems to express approval of changes in musical style, or to simply records such innovations as a historical process without judging them. Conversely, the *Problemata* passage is only concerned with the causes that underlie what its author consciously sees as “a significant fracture in the musical tradition”.¹⁶ Yet the conventions of the genre to which the *Problemata* belong are precisely what allows us to infer that both the topic and the historical approach to it were effectively embedded in the Peripatetic debate on harmonics, as the work aims at providing a mere outline of what we might call the ‘research orientation’ of the school regarding various topics, and to explain each in its essential aspects. This means, in other words, that the author of the *Problemata* wrote his historical account of *nomoi* because he perceived it as a crucial point in the Peripatetic discussion on this subject: a general awareness of changes in musical practice, which needed to be studied and reconstructed in their evolution through time, underlies the Peripatetic approach to music, regardless of each writer’s own ideas and inclinations.

Indeed, the widespread engagement in the study of music within the early Peripatos resulted in a vast amount of writing on the topic, composed by almost all the main exponents of the school in the decades that followed Aristotle’s death: Aristoxenus, of course, but also Theophrastus, Dicaearchus, Heraclides, Hieronymus (whose interest in music is recalled in a passage in Plutarch)¹⁷ and others. Accounts of musical history can also be found in the

15 See Barker 2014, 76: “we should not read too much into the fact that unlike Aristoxenus he [sc. the *Problemata* compiler] expresses no regret or disapproval about what has happened but merely records it; this probably reflects no more than the conventions of the genre in which he is writing”.

16 Barker 2014, 76.

17 Plut. *Non posse suav. vivi* 1096a οὐκ ἦν δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἡδέως ζῆν ἐπιεικέστερον μύρα καὶ θυμιάματα δυσχεραίνειν ὡς κἀνθάροι καὶ γύπες, ἢ κριτικῶν καὶ μουσικῶν λαλιὰν βδελύττεσθαι καὶ φεύγειν; ποῖος γάρ ἂν αὐλὸς ἢ κιθάρα διηρμοσμένη πρὸς ᾧδὴν ἢ τίς χορὸς Ἐὐρύποα κέλαδον ἀκροσάφων ἀγνύμενον διὰ στομάτων’ φεγγομένων οὕτως εὐφρανεν Ἐπίκουρον καὶ Μητροδωρον, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Θεόφραστον καὶ Δικαίαρχον καὶ Ἱερώνυμον οἱ περὶ χορῶν λόγοι καὶ διδασκαλιῶν καὶ τὰ [δι’] αὐλῶν προβλήματα καὶ ῥυθμῶν καὶ ἀρμονιῶν; (‘With a view to living pleasantly, wouldn’t it be more reasonable to feel disgust at sweet oil and burnt offerings, as do dung-beetles and vultures, rather than to loathe and avoid the talk of literary and musical critics? For what sort of aulos or cithara tuned for song or what chorus giving forth “far-sounding voice passed through expert mouths” could so have cheered Epicurus and Metrodorus as the discussions of choruses and the productions, and the problems concerning *auloi* [pipes] and rhythms and harmonies [cheered] Aristotle and Theophrastus and Dicaearchus and Hieronymus?’; transl. Mirhady 2001).

remnants of works not specifically devoted to music, as part of a wider engagement in cultural history and, in some cases, literary criticism. Diogenes Laertius' catalogues of Peripatetic writings (which refer only to a few members of the school) enumerate several writings *Περὶ μουσικῆς*, but also works on tragedy, comedy, and the poets, which perhaps included discussion of musical issues and, possibly, of changes in musical style from one author, poetic genre or period to another.¹⁸

In investigating such issues, no matter with what specific purposes, Peripatetic scholars had necessarily to face the fact that a break in musical tradition had happened in the late 5th century BC: this forced them to develop a specific *historiographical* attitude towards it. As Andrew Barker has helpfully underlined, an important affinity can be detected between the development of this approach to musical history and the birth of literary criticism: both arose from the same phenomenon, that is, the enormous distance between the present and the past regarding the ways and the contexts in which poetry and music were composed and performed in Archaic and Classical times; both took their first systematic steps within the Peripatos and were inherited by Hellenistic scholarly literature and philology.¹⁹ Concerning music specifically, we might add that the process was twofold: on the one hand, it was the 'revolution of the New Music' as a historical fact that was at the core of the development of a historical approach towards 'old' music; on the other hand, it was the establishment of *μουσική* as a field of research in its own right—and the consequent interest in its chronological evolution—that convinced scholars to consider New Music as a relevant turning point in the history of the discipline.

Changes in musical practice were examined in various contexts, both public and private, even though theatre probably constituted one of the main areas of interest, as we have already seen with the *Problemata* passage on *nomoi* and dithyramb. But we may find traces (though scarce) of an interest in the evolution of musical style also in two fragments of Dicaearchus' writings (89 and 90 Mirhady) concerned with music in the context of the symposium; more specifically, their aim is to shed some light on how in ancient times sympotic songs were performed, in order to understand the origin of names and habits

18 A work *περὶ μουσικῆς* is attributed by Diogenes Laertius (5.26) to Aristotle himself. Several works on music and poetry were allegedly composed by Theophrastus (*Περὶ μουσικῆς*, *Περὶ μέτρων*, *Περὶ ποιητικῆς*: Diog. Laert 5.47; *Περὶ τῶν μουσικῶν*: 5.49) and by Heraclides Ponticus, to whom an entire group of *μουσικά* works is attributed (Diog. Laert. 5.88). Here we are not concerned with assessing the reliability of Diogenes' catalogues: suffice it to note that they provide additional confirmation of the existence of a widespread interest in music within the Peripatos in its first decades.

19 Barker 2014, 81.

still in use.²⁰ I shall not focus on these passages, not only because they have already been thoroughly studied by Barker,²¹ but also because they can barely be seen as accounts of New Music as we understand it. I shall limit myself to the following remark: Dicaearchus' fragments clearly testify that, in the late 4th century BC, any enquiry into the recent musical past was already based on conjectural reconstruction of habits that had been lost and needed to be made the object of properly historical research (even if the scholars engaged in it often came to very divergent conclusions).²²

Another couple of fragments by Dicaearchus (97 and 98 Mirhady) might suggest a more specific Peripatetic interest in New Music, although in such a scanty way that any further reconstruction is impossible. Both come from paremiographical collections: Zenobius' epitome of a previous work by Didymus Chalcenterus and Lucillus of Tarrha, and another collection attributed to Zenobius but probably spurious. Both lemmata are proverbs referring to non-conventional practices in auletics. In both cases, Dicaearchus is explicitly mentioned as the source used to reconstruct the context from which the two proverbs originated.

The first fragment explains the origin of the popular saying ἀειδε τὰ Τέλληνος (fr. 97 Mirhady):

ἀειδε τὰ Τέλληνος· οὗτος ὁ Τέλλην ἐγένετο αὐλητῆς καὶ μελῶν ἀνυποτάκτων ποιητῆς. μέμνηται αὐτοῦ Δικαίαρχος ὁ Μεσσήνιος.

20 Dicaearch. fr. 89 Mirhady (*Suda* σ 643 Adler): σκολιόν· ἡ παροιμία ὡδή. ὡς μὲν Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγῶνων, ὅτι τρία γένη ἦν ὡδῶν· τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀδόμενον καθ' ἑνα ἐξῆς· τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συνετωτάτων, ὡς ἔτυχε, τῇ τάξει· ὁ δὲ καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν τάξιν σκολιόν ('As Dicaearchus [says] in the work *On Musical Contests*, [scolion] was a drinking song. There were three kinds of songs, one was sung by all, another was sung by each individually one after another, and the last by the most quick-witted in order as it happened. This was called *scolion* on account of the order', transl. Mirhady 2001); fr. 90 Mirhady (*sch. Ar. Nu.* 1364c) Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ Περὶ μουσικῶν <ἀγῶνων>· ἔτι δὲ κοινόν τι πάθος φαίνεται συνακολουθεῖν τοῖς διερχομένοις εἴτε μετὰ μέλους εἴτε ἄνευ μέλους, ἔχοντάς τι ἐν χειρὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀφήγησιν, οἷ τε γὰρ ἄδοντες ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις ἐκ παλαιᾶς τινας παραδόσεως κλῶνα δάφνης ἢ μυρρίνης λαβόντες ἄδουσι ('Dicaearchus in the work *On Musical <Contests>*·: "it still appears to be a common affectation associated with those performing either with a song or without a song, to hold something in their hand when doing their recitation. For from some old tradition those singing in the symposia take a twig of laurel or myrtle when they sing", transl. Mirhady 2001).

21 Barker 2014, 77-9.

22 See for instance the different explanations provided by Dicaearchus and Aristoxenus concerning the original meaning of the word σκόλιον; a discussion of the two passages is found in Barker 2014, 77-9.

Sing the story of Tellen [or alternatively: sing Tellen's songs]: this Tellen was a piper and composer of unruly songs. Dicaearchus of Messana mentions him.

Transl. MIRHADY 2001

The proverb is said to refer to a certain Tellen, an aulete who allegedly composed ἀνυπότακτα μέλη, that is, 'irregular' or 'insubordinate' melodies. This Tellen is probably the same aulete mentioned in the second fragment (fr. 98 Mirhady):

τὸν αὐλητὴν αὐλεῖν· ταύτης μέμνηται Φιλήμων ὁ κωμικός [fr. 183 K.-A.].
Δικαίαρχος δὲ φησιν ὅτι αὐλητῆς τις ἐγένετο μὴ πάνυ τοῖς αὐλητικοῖς ἐμμένων νόμοις, ἀλλὰ παρακινῶν· ὅθεν εἰς παροιμίαν ἦλθεν ὁ λόγος.

The piper pipes: Philemon the comic poet mentions this saying. Dicaearchus says that there was a certain piper who did not abide at all by the rules of piping [alternatively: auletic *nomoi*], but violated them. This story became a saying.

Transl. MIRHADY 2001

Here, the name of the piper to whom the proverb refers is not given, but he is said to 'not abide at all by the rules of piping (μὴ πάνυ τοῖς αὐλητικοῖς ἐμμένων νόμοις), but to violate them (παρακινῶν)'. The vocabulary of the two fragments is compatible enough with the alleged aesthetics of the New Music: in both cases what is stressed (i.e. what Dicaearchus probably stressed) is the 'subversive' character of the aulete's compositions. The adjective ἀνυπότακτος, used to describe Tellen's piping in fr. 97, means literally 'not subordinate', that is to say, apparently, 'not subjected to rules', making this statement even closer to fr. 98. In fact, I find it highly plausible that the two fragments belong to the same passage by Dicaearchus, and that the text of fr. 97 is nothing but a 'shortened' version of the text quoted in fr. 98. Apart from the abridged form of the quotation and the use of the verb μέμνηται (whereas in fr. 98 the presence of the verb φησὶν seems to suggest a more 'direct' citation of Dicaearchus' passage), the use of the adjective ἀνυπότακτος, a rare compound not attested in any other statement about New Music and whose first occurrence is in a totally different context in Polybius,²³ might also indicate that the source has been paraphrased, rather than literally quoted.

23 **Poll.** 3.36 τῆς γὰρ διανοίας ἐπ' οὐδὲν ἀπεριδομένης οὐδὲ δυναμένης ἐφαρμόττειν τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπ' οὐδὲν γνῶριμον, ἀνυπότακτος καὶ κωφὴ γίνεθ' ἢ διήγησις.

The terminology used in fr. 98, probably closer to Dicaearchus' original statement, is puzzling as well, and I am not sure that Mirhady's translation grasps the full meaning of the sentence. He interprets τοῖς αὐλητικοῖς νόμοις as 'the rules of piping', without mentioning the 'auletic νόμοι', which seem relevant to me in this context. Perhaps a certain degree of ambiguity is intrinsic to the statement, as ancient *nomoi* had, in a sense, a 'normative' aim (or at least this is what 4th-century BC writers believed).²⁴ In any case, if we go back to the *Problemata* passage discussed above and compare its account of *nomoi* with Dicaearchus' expression παρακινεῖν τοὺς αὐλητικούς νόμους, the two perspectives look quite consistent with each other. Of course Dicaearchus' evidence is too scanty to allow the hypothesis that the two passages are directly related, nor do we have enough context to draw any conclusions concerning Dicaearchus' views on this specific topic. Nevertheless, these two fragments provide additional information about the ongoing scholarly discussions within the Peripatos on the renovation of traditional musical genres and on the personalities involved in such a process.

A very slight hint about Dicaearchus' ideas on the 'revolutionary' *aulos*-playing probably lies in the choice of the verb παρακινεῖν (if we are reading Dicaearchus' *ipsissima verba*). The syntagm παρακινεῖν τοὺς νόμους might express a concept quite close to that expressed by the noun παρανομία, one of the key words of conservative criticism regarding the new musical style (see for instance the famous passage on Argo's laws against πολυχорδία in [Plut.] *Mus.* 37, 1144f).²⁵ If we read Dicaearchus' παρακινεῖν as an expression of a polemic attitude towards New Music, then his view appears quite close to the Aristoxenian one, confirming once more the extent to which similar ideas were shared and debated within the Peripatos.²⁶

24 Cfr. Barker 2009, 293: "we should be thoroughly skeptical about the notion, widespread in fourth-century and later sources, that in the archaic period each named type was defined by strict rules governing the melodic and rhythmic resources which were 'permitted' in its performance".

25 ἄτ' οὖν ἡθῶν μάλιστα φροντίδα πεποιημένοι οἱ παλαιοί, τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ ἀπερίεργον τῆς ἀρχαίας μουσικῆς προσετίμων. Ἀργεῖους μὲν καὶ κόλασιν ἐπιθεῖναι ποτέ φασι τῇ εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν παρανομίᾳ ζημιῶσαι τε τὸν ἐπιχειρήσαντα πρῶτον ταῖς πλείοσι τῶν ἑπτὰ χρήσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς χορδῶν καὶ παραμιξολυδιάζειν ἐπιχειρήσαντα ('In ancient times, then, since their prime concern was with character, people valued above all the dignity and simplicity which was a feature of ancient music. Thus the Argives are said to have once laid down a penalty for breaches in the rules of music, and to have imposed a fine on the first man who tried to use more than seven strings normally current among them, and who attempted to modulate into Mixolydian', transl. Barker 1984).

26 Concerning Aristoxenus and Dicaearchus see Barker 2014, 81: "They were both members of the Lyceum in the same period; their interests overlapped substantially, and they must have known one another".

I would now like to discuss some Aristoxenian statements concerning New Music, considering them as part of the wider Peripatetic debate on music. I will begin with a fragment revealing his attitude towards the new musical style, namely fr. 124 Wehrli:

διόπερ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τοῖς Συμμίκτοις Συμποτικοῖς· ὅμοιον, φησί, ποιούμεν Ποσειδωνιάταις τοῖς ἐν τῷ Τυρσηνικῷ κόλπῳ κατοικοῦσιν. οἷς συνέβη τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἑλλήσιν οὖσιν ἐκβεβαρβάρωσθαι Τυρρηνοῖς ἢ Ῥωμαίοις γεγνόσι, καὶ τὴν τε φωνὴν μεταβεληγέναι τὰ τε λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ... οὕτω δὲ οὖν, φησί, καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ θέατρα ἐκβεβαρβάρωται καὶ εἰς μεγάλην διαφθορὰν προελήλυθεν ἡ πάνδημος αὕτη μουσική, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενόμενοι ὀλίγοι ἀναμνησκόμεθα οἷα ἦν ἡ μουσική. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀριστόξενος.

This is why Aristoxenus says in his *Sympotic Miscellany*: 'We act like the inhabitants of Posidonia located on the Tyrrhenian Gulf. What happened to them is that they were originally Greeks but have turned into barbarians and become Etruscans or Romans, and their language has changed, along with all their other practices [...]. We are actually in the same situation', he says, 'for our theaters have been barbarized, and popular music itself has been utterly degraded, and only a few of us recall privately what music was once like'.

Transl. OLSON 2011

The passage is preserved by Athenaeus in Book 14 of *Deipnosophistae* as a literal quotation: thus we can be confident enough that the terminology is genuinely 'Aristoxenian'. It is excerpted from a miscellaneous work entitled Σύμμικτα συμποτικά, which Fritz Wehrli believed to be particularly concerned with pedagogical issues.²⁷ It compares the 'barbarization' of the cultural habits of the inhabitants of Posidonia, who forgot their original language and culture due to the influence of the Etruscans, with the 'barbarization' of Greek theatrical performance (τὰ θέατρα ἐκβεβαρβάρωται), which led to the 'destruction' of music (εἰς μεγάλην διαφθορὰν προελήλυθεν ἡ πάνδημος αὕτη μουσική). But, aside from that, what I am more interested in here is the idea underlying the comparison between what had happened in Posidonia and what was happening in 4th-century BC Greece, namely the loss of historical memory: as Aristoxenus puts it, 'a few of us remember what music was like' (ὀλίγοι ἀναμνησκόμεθα οἷα ἦν ἡ μουσική), just as Posidonians have forgotten their original language and customs. The difference, of course, is that the Posidonians did so because of

²⁷ Wehrli 1967², 84.

an external influence, whereas the forgetful Greeks have no one to blame but themselves (~~καθ' ἑαυτούς~~).

The verb used by Aristoxenus, ἀναμνήσκειν, seems to belong to the domain of oral recollection, rather than to proper historiographical writing. It presumably describes a situation in which a group of select individuals (ὀλίγοι, contrasted with the πᾶνδημος μουσική) discusses ancient musical tradition (also) in order to keep it safe from general oblivion. This fits the context of a learned symposium, the supposed setting of the work from which the fragment is excerpted. In any case, in such discussions, in and out of their literary setting, we could hardly disregard the conscious effort of their participants towards a reliable reconstruction of bygone musical practices. They probably included learned conversations about earlier sources (in which one could possibly find accounts of traditional music) and comparisons between them, as well as remarks based on contemporary musical practice.²⁸ In this sense, what Aristoxenus refers to with the verb ἀναμνήσκειν is probably the lively, interactive character of Peripatetic investigation of the musical past.

Be that as it may, the transformation of music is presented by Aristoxenus as “an already accomplished process”.²⁹ Furthermore, his complaint about the lack of historical memory, which has survived only among a few educated people, betrays once more the awareness of conjectural reconstruction as the only way to discover reliable information about the musical past, as well as the scholarly character of such an operation. What perhaps we cannot attribute to Aristoxenus is the desire to reconstruct musical history for its own sake, or a properly ‘historical’ attitude:³⁰ he wants to keep alive the memory of ancient music only because he considers ἀρχαία μουσική qualitatively better than the music of his own times. Nevertheless, he belongs to a philosophical school that considered history an important part of the study of any discipline, and his scholarly background likely influenced his approach to ‘ancient’ music.

Aristoxenus’ view is plainly conservative, as clearly expressed by his proud self-identification with those ὀλίγοι who still know what music was like in the past, in direct opposition to the ‘popular’ (πᾶνδημος) character of New Music. In this regard, an especially significant aspect (which modern scholars have

28 Some memories of the ancient musical style had probably survived in auletic performances of the 4th century BC, as can be inferred from Aristox. fr. 83 Wehrli (= [Plut.] *Mus.* 1135b), which deals with the former structure of the enharmonic tetrachord, originally divided into a ditone + a semitone instead of a ditone + a quarter tone + a quarter tone: ῥάδιον δ' ἐστὶ συνιδεῖν, ἂν τις ἀρχαϊκῶς τινος αὐλοῦντος ἀκούσῃ, ἀσύνθετον γὰρ βούλεται εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐν ταῖς μέσαις ἡμιτόνοιον.

29 Meriani 2003, 78.

30 On this idea see especially Barker 2012, 1-27.

properly underlined)³¹ is the recognition of the theatre as the privileged context in which the degeneration of music took place because of the composers' desire to obtain the approval of their public, which led them to put aside the ancient style for more virtuosic and spectacular performances.

The Aristoxenian fragment with which I shall end my survey (fr. 70 Wehrli) presents more or less the same conceptual framework, but its content is expressed in a slightly different way. It comes from a discourse by the 4th-century AD philosopher and orator Themistius and consists in an anecdote regarding Aristoxenus' ideas about the theatrical music of his time (*Or.* 33.364b-c):

Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς θηλυνομένην ἤδη τὴν μουσικὴν ἐπειράτο ἀναρρῶν, αὐτὸς τε ἀγαπῶν τὰ ἀνδρικώτερα τῶν κρουμάτων καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἐπικελεύων τοῦ μαλθακοῦ ἀφεμένους φιλεργεῖν τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖν τις ἤρετο αὐτὸν τῶν συνήθων· τί δ' ἂν μοι γένοιτο πλεον ὑπεριδόντι μὲν τῆς νέας καὶ ἐπιτερποῦς ἀοιδῆς, τὴν τε παλαιὰν διαπονήσαντι; ἄσῃ, φησί, σπανιώτερον ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, ὥς οὐκ οἶόν τε ὄν πλῆθει τε ἅμα ἀρεστὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχαῖον τὴν ἐπιστήμην.

Aristoxenus the musician attempted to make masculine the music that had been made effeminate, because he appreciated those sounds that displayed a masculine character and encouraged his students to give up softness and cultivate that which is manly in their songs.³² Thus when one of his pupils asked him 'But what advantage would I gain by neglecting the new style of singing, which most people appreciate, and by embracing the old one?', Aristoxenus answered: 'You will perform in theatre only occasionally; for it is not possible to be appreciated by the crowd while displaying an archaic technique'.

My translation

Apart from the opposition between the 'masculine' (ἀνδρικώτερα) character of ancient style and the 'effeminate' music of Aristoxenus' times (θηλυνομένην ἤδη τὴν μουσικὴν), typical of conservative criticism,³³ another interesting element

³¹ See in particular Meriani 2003, 78.

³² The translation of this sentence follows that provided in Power 2012, 134, where the passage is quoted.

³³ See for instance [Plut.] *Mus.* 15.1136b ἐχρήσαντο δ' αὐτῇ οἱ παλαιοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι πᾶσιν οἱ δὲ νῦν τὰ σεμνὰ αὐτῆς παραιτησάμενοι, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνδρώδους ἐκείνης καὶ θεσπεσίας καὶ θεοῖς φίλης κατεαγυῖαν καὶ κωτίλῃν εἰς τὰ θεάτρα εἰσάγουσι ('In ancient times people treated music in accordance with its proper status, just as they treated all their other activities. Nowadays musicians have rejected its more dignified aspects,

of this passage is the terminology attributed by Themistius to Aristoxenus and his pupil.

The student asks Aristoxenus what advantage he will gain by rejecting the modern musical style and embracing the old one. Aristoxenus' answer, which sounds like an epigrammatic ἀπροσδόκητον, is that in doing so he will seldom perform in the theatre, as 'it is not possible to be appreciated by the public while displaying an archaic technique' (ὥς οὐκ οἶόν τε ὄν πλήθει τε ἅμα ἀρεστόν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχαῖον τὴν ἐπιστήμην). Let us focus on the pupil's question: it is here that, curiously, we find what is probably the only ancient occurrence of an expression which reminds us of the modern definition of 'New Music': νέα καὶ ἐπιτερπὴς ἀοιδή.³⁴ Of course I am not suggesting that in antiquity 'New Music' was a scholarly definition nor that Aristoxenus ever used it, since the whole fragment is probably a paraphrase or a re-arrangement of Aristoxenus' ideas, rather than a direct quotation (the dialogue between the master and his pupil might even be completely fictional); nevertheless, it is quite striking that we find it attributed to the Peripatetic writer with the greatest musical interests among all.

What I would suggest in conclusion are the following remarks:

- New Music played a significant role in the growing awareness of a 'musical past' that could not be merely remembered, but needed to be *reconstructed* by collecting and comparing the evidence on music in bygone times;
- the early Peripatos was the scholarly context in which such awareness developed and led to the belief that the systematic study of μουσική should not disregard the knowledge of its history, even in works whose aim was not strictly 'historical', but rather speculative or technical;
- within this framework, New Music started to be investigated as a fundamental turning point in the evolution of musical practice, whose social and historical implications needed to be fully understood (as we have seen in the passage from the *Problemata* and in Dicaearchus' speculations about the symposium);
- eventually, the influence of this approach can still be detected in later writings, such as the pseudo-Plutarchean *De musica*.

and in place of that manly and inspired music, beloved of the gods, they bring into the theatres a music of effeminate twitterings", transl. Barker 1984). On the Platonic and/or Aristoxenian origin of this idea see also Power 2012, 133-5.

34 On the ancient idea of musical 'novelty' and on the different use of νέος and καινός in such a context, see especially D'Angour 2011, 184-206.

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The Cyclops' Revenge

Aelius Aristides on Plato, Philoxenus, and New Music

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Abstract

Taking issue with the *Gorgias* and its dismissal of fifth-century Athenian rhetoricians and statesmen, in his *Reply to Plato in Defence of the Four* (Or. 3) the imperial sophist Aelius Aristides finds himself dealing with Plato's condemnation of New Music, which in the *Gorgias* had gone hand in hand with the censure of rhetoric. In a brilliant display of new musical 'revisionism' so far ignored by scholars, Aristides presents in a positive light the notorious new dithyrambist Philoxenus of Cythera, so that Plato's influential criticism of New Music, and especially of its political implications, backfires. This paper provides a close analysis of Aristides' new musical discussion, concentrating both on the sophist's engagement with Platonic musical critique and on his use of anecdotal traditions about Philoxenus circulating under the Empire. The ultimate goal is to contribute to the history of New Music and its ancient, not always predictable, reception.

Keywords

New Music – Plato – Philoxenus – dithyramb – Aelius Aristides – Second Sophistic

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Hear me, earth-holder Poseidon, dark-haired one,
if I am truly yours, and you claim to be my father,
grant that Odysseus the sacker of cities not reach home,
Laertes' son who has a house in Ithaca!
But if it's his lot to see his loved ones and reach
his well-built house and his fatherland,

may he get there cruelly late, having lost all his comrades,
on someone else's ship, and may he find trouble in his house!

HOM. *Od.* 9.528-35, trans. J. HUDDLESTON



Introduction

In the *Odyssey*, a furious Polyphemus famously prays to his father Poseidon to avenge his blinding by preventing, or at least hindering, Odysseus' homecoming. In a way, the present paper too deals with a 'Cyclopic' revenge—not an epic but a late classical, 'new musical' one.

According to a number of ancient sources, *Cyclops* was the title of a celebrated work by the dithyrambic poet Philoxenus of Cythera, one of the star representatives of New Music.¹ Philoxenus is frequently referred to by ancient authors in relation to the musical 'revolution' that took place in Athens between the fifth and the fourth centuries BC. In musical discussions and specialised treatises in particular, Philoxenus' name is often coupled with that of another famous new musician, Timotheus of Miletus, as both these poets are said to have contributed to the flamboyant technical and stylistic innovations characteristic of the New Music, thus perverting the good old lyric tradition represented by authors such as Pindar.²

It was however not only musical texts that had reasons for mentioning Philoxenus and his poetry. Although they are usually neglected by scholars, there are some fascinating and complex references to Philoxenus and his 'unconventional' poetry in an oration by the second-century AD sophist Aelius Aristides. That a rhetorical text written in the classicising milieu of the Second Sophistic could draw on a controversial, late classical figure like Philoxenus may sound intriguing per se, and yet this aspect is not the most conspicuous feature of Aristides' treatment of the new musician. As we shall see presently,

1 Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 1.622c; Ael. *VH* 12.44; Ath. 13.564e-f; Zen. vulg. 5.45 L.-S. On the dithyramb cf. Hordern 1999; Power 2013, 237-56; LeVen 2014, 233-42.

2 According to Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 19, new dithyrambists like Philoxenus, Timotheus, and Telestes displayed 'great licence' (πολλὴν ἄδειαν) compared to earlier poets. Similarly, in [Plut.] *Mus.* 31.1142b-c a musician educated since childhood in the good music of old is not able, despite his fondness for the new style, to compose dithyrambs in Philoxenus' manner, but is successful only at Pindaric dithyrambs; cf. also [Plut.] *Mus.* 12.1135c and 30.1141c. On Philoxenus and his place in the development of New Music see further Barker 1984, 93-5; West 1992, 350; 356-85; LeVen 2014, 113-49.

Aristides recalls Philoxenus in the context of a rhetorical attack on Plato, one of the harshest opponents of New Music: in the Aristidean oration, Plato's criticism is made to backfire, while Philoxenus, and apparently his *Cyclops*, are allowed to get a belated but nonetheless meaningful revenge on their notorious critic.

In order to make clear the structure of Aristides' argument and to uncover the clever new musical game played at Plato's expense, the paper will be divided as follows. After introducing Aristides' oration and its relationship with Plato and Platonic criticism of the New Music, I shall focus on the Philoxenian references of the speech, pointing to their implications for the Platonic content of the text. Once I have clarified his role in the economy of the oration, then, in the second part of the paper I will analyse Aristides' Philoxenus within the broader background of the ancient traditions that circulated about him during the imperial period. In so doing, my overall aim is to contribute to the history of the New Music and its later reception(s), by shedding light on a rather peculiar, so far overlooked, episode in this history.

1 **New Dithyrambic Poetics: Philoxenus and the New Music in Aristides' *Reply to Plato in Defence of the Four***

Together with *Orr.* 2 and 4, Aelius Aristides' *Or.* 3, now known as *A Reply to Plato in Defence of the Four*, belongs to the so-called *Platonic Orations*, dense and lengthy essays written by Aristides with the deliberate intention of discussing and rejecting the disparaging judgement of rhetoric expressed by Plato in the *Gorgias*.³ In particular, in the first item of the series, *Or.* 2 (*A Reply to Plato in Defence of Oratory*), Aristides reversed Plato's arguments by depicting public speaking as a profitable and superior human activity. As one can imagine, such a refutation was met with some hostility by contemporary admirers of Plato, one of whom, a certain Capito, Aristides replied to with *Or.* 4. It was only some years later, then, that Aristides returned to oppose the *Gorgias* with *Or.* 3, in which I am interested here.⁴ In this essay, the longest of the series, Aristides chooses to tackle just one aspect of Plato's attack on rhetoric, and concentrates his efforts on rehabilitating the fifth-century Athenian orators and statesmen

3 On the aim and argumentative plan of the *Platonic Orations*, see Trapp 2017, 326–32.

4 Behr (1986, 460) dates *Or.* 3 “some time between 161–165 AD”, and so later than *Orr.* 2 and 4, dated to Aristides' stay as an incubant at the Asclepieum of Pergamum (145–147 AD).

that had been specifically targeted in the *Gorgias*: Pericles, Cimon, Miltiades, and Themistocles.⁵

In the dialogue, Plato refers to the renowned politicians as perfect examples of the detrimental effects of rhetoric and public speaking as activities aimed solely at pleasing their audience and eventually corrupting the citizen body. None of the Four was able to educate the Athenians through his speeches, and ultimately all of them suffered at the hands of those they had tried to guide and rule.⁶ Precisely in order to stress the flattering and debasing power of oratory for which the Four stand, in *Grg.* 501d-502d rhetorical practice is assimilated to favourite musical performances such as *aulos*- and *kithara*-playing, choruses, tragedies, and dithyrambs. According to Socrates-Plato, both political oratory and contemporary music had as their unique target the pleasure and approval of the mass audience, without contributing to their moral and civic education but rather corrupting their nature and customs. Strikingly, the fact that, as an example of the hedonistic dithyramb in particular, Socrates explicitly recalls the poet Cinesias (*Grg.* 501e) indicates that the pleasurable music called into question in the *Gorgias* is no generic music: as suggested by comic sources, Cinesias was an “iconic figure” for the late classical New Music elsewhere condemned by Plato, and his mention in the *Gorgias* confirms the new musical character of the main target of the dialogue’s anti-musical polemics.⁷

As I shall demonstrate, the musical aspect of the attack on rhetoric delivered in the *Gorgias* is crucial to understanding the argumentative strategy devised by Aristides for the *Reply*, as well as to explaining the role that music, and especially New Music, comes to play in the oration. Here, Aristides attempts completely to reverse Plato’s disapproval of the Four by arguing that they actually ruled Athens as best as they could, and so deserve praise instead of Plato’s blame. As a direct result of his taking issue with the *Gorgias* and its dismissal of the Four, therefore, in *Or.* 3 Aristides picks out and engages with the musical element of the Platonic dialogue, reworking it cleverly against Plato.

5 References to the Four are found throughout the Platonic dialogue (see e.g. *Grg.* 455e, 503c), but their examples are discussed especially by Socrates and Callicles in 515d-517a.

6 *Pl. Grg.* 515e-516e. Towards the end of his life, Pericles was convicted of embezzlement, while both Cimon and Themistocles were exiled from Athens. Despite the success of Marathon, Miltiades was later charged with treason and sent to prison, where he died.

7 Cf. *Ar. Av.* 1373-1410 and *Pherecr.* fr. 155.8-13 K.-A., with LeVen 2014, 21. Two of the most cited *loci classici* for Plato’s criticism against New Music are *R.* 3.395d-400a and *Lg.* 3.700a-701a. When compared to these passages and the function they have within Plato’s political theory, *Grg.* 501d-502d might rather seem, as suggested by Dodds 1959, 320, “a digression” within the dialogue. As I argue in this paper, however, Aristides proves to be well aware of the musical implications of the *Gorgias*, and chooses to deploy them skilfully in order to enhance his confutation of the Platonic dialogue.

To begin with, Aristides appears to reject the association drawn in *Grg.* 501d-502d between the rhetorical activity of the Four and the degenerate entertainment offered by new musicians like Cinesias. If anything, according to Aristides the conduct of the Four as politicians and orators should rather be paralleled with noble and moral music. Apart from Cimon, whose 'leadership and administration' resembled the arrangement of an orderly chorus (*Or.* 3.144f.), or Themistocles, who 'brought all of Greece into harmony' like a revived Terperander (§ 231), the link between the Four's rhetoric and good music, as opposed to the New Music, is developed most clearly in the case of Miltiades.⁸ In *Or.* 3.155, Aristides allows Miltiades himself to reply to Plato's accusation by describing how he educated the Athenians who fought at Marathon, and this description echoes closely the famous praise of the ancient musical education delivered by the *Dikaïos Logos* in Aristophanes' *Clouds*: in Miltiades' times musical practice had served as a form of discipline for the young and, more importantly, music itself had been highly traditional (i.e. conservative) and far removed from the alluring 'twists' (καμπαι) and complex harmonies later elaborated and made popular by the New Music.⁹

The way Aristides deals with the new musical polemics of the *Gorgias* in the passages of the *Reply* considered so far suggests that, while contesting the new musical depiction of the Four advanced by Plato, the imperial sophist did not reject, and rather exploited in favour of his argument, the narrative of musical degeneration that Plato himself had contributed to concocting and promoting with his criticism of late classical music. This is also in line with the fact that, in discussing Miltiades' case, Aristides draws on a source like Aristophanes: together with Plato, Athenian comedy was responsible for targeting new musicians and their avant-garde innovations, adding crucially to the bad reputation firmly attached to New Music since its very appearance.¹⁰ In this sense, if Aristides filtered the musical past of Athens exclusively through an

8 It is interesting to note that in Aristides' oration the musical discourse does not apply to Pericles, whose defence lacks any musical association. An explanation for this exception might lie in Pericles' chronology: while Aristides could still find it easy to associate with good old music figures like Miltiades, Themistocles, and Cimon, he might have regarded Pericles' activity, reaching well into the second half of the fifth century, as closer in time to the development and spread of New Music in the last three decades of the fifth century.

9 For Miltiades' reply, Aristides quotes extensively from the comedy: *Ar. Nu.* 961-5, 967-9, 972f., 985f.

10 On the influence of comedy on later receptions, ancient and modern, of New Music, see LeVen 2014, 73f. That comic texts could be used by imperial authors like Aristides as sources on Athenian history and culture in general is proved by *P. Oxy.* 2192, a letter dated to the second century AD and containing instructions on how to obtain, among other volumes, a copy of Hypsicrates' *Komodoumenoi* ('Men Made Fun of in Comedy'), meant to help

Aristophanic (and Platonic) lens, then one would expect him to subscribe fully to a derogatory judgement of New Music.¹¹ However, when later on in the oration, as anticipated in the introduction, the discourse returns to New Music by means of the figure of the new dithyrambist Philoxenus, with a noticeable turn Aristides' presentation of the new musician strikes the reader for being definitely far from negative. In fact, Aristides' treatment may be said to fall within the strain of Philoxenian reception that, after the controversies of the New Music moment, canonized the new musician as a classic.¹² At the same time, though, the rehabilitation of Philoxenus found in the *Reply* targets, deliberately and originally, Plato's new musical polemics.

After discussing separately why each of the Four should be honoured and celebrated rather than disapproved of, in *Or.* 3.373-400 Aristides imagines the Athenian statesmen addressing their critic all together in a sort of "Common Defense".¹³ In particular, in their own reply the Four point the finger at Plato's long-term, notoriously disastrous relationship with the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius the Elder and his son Dionysius the Younger. As attested mainly by the (probably) spurious *Seventh Letter* ascribed to Plato himself, lore had it that despite his various attempts to educate the tyrants and guide their politics, Plato was repeatedly abused by the Dionysii and involved against his will in their power struggles.¹⁴ The reason behind Aristides' choice to have the Four put forward this political argument may be apparent by now: given his own conspicuous political failure, Plato would be the least entitled to judge and condemn the careers of some of the greatest Athenian politicians. Now, it is precisely when the Four recall Plato's shameful Sicilian experience that Philoxenus and the New Music step into the picture (*Or.* 3.386.):

καὶ ποίων τινῶν ἀπέλαυσας πάλιν αὐτὸς οἶσθα, ὥς οὐθ' ὦν ἀπῆρας χάριν
διεπράξω ἡνέσχου τε πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα, καὶ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἢ σαυτοῦ,

with the reading and interpretation of comic texts; see Turner 1952, 91f. and Johnson 2010, 180-3.

11 On the 'Manichaean' distinction drawn by fifth- and fourth-century critics of New Music between good and bad music see Csapo 2004, 246. This view usually prevailed among later authors, and was repeated by imperial ones: a contemporary of Aristides, Maximus of Tyre, complains (37.4) that the beautiful music 'of old' has been perverted 'by pleasure' (τῷ ἡδεῖ, cf. Pl. *Grg.* 502a πρὸς τὸ ἡδιστον).

12 Philoxenus is recalled as a good poet already in Antiph. fr. 207 K.-A., on which see Ieranò 2013, 383-5. Both Polyb. 4.20.8 and Plut. *Alex.* 8.3 refer to Philoxenus' poems as 'classics' still read in the Hellenistic period.

13 Behr 1986, 460.

14 See [Pl.] *Ep.* 7.328c; cf. Diog. Laert. 3.18-23.

τοσοῦτον εὐτυχήσας μόνον, εἰρήσεται γὰρ, ὅσον οὐ μετέσχες τῆς Φιλοξένου τοῦ διθυραμβοποιοῦ τύχης, καίτοι πρᾶττων μάλιστα πῶς ἀντίπαλα ἐκείνῳ.

And you yourself know what sort of advantages you *again* enjoyed, since you accomplished nothing for the sake of which you put out to sea, and you endured a great variety of things, fit for anyone rather than you, and were only fortunate to this extent, for it shall be said, that you did not share *the fate of Philoxenus the dithyrambic poet*, although *in some ways you acted quite contrary to him*.¹⁵

As stressed in the text by the use of πάλιν, even after managing to escape from the hands of Dionysius the Elder, who allegedly went as far as selling him as a slave, Plato still accepted a second and a third invitation to Syracuse from Dionysius' son, a repeated mistake that caused him yet more troubles—the ironical 'advantages' mentioned by the Four. The fact that, notwithstanding the treatment received there, Plato continued to go back to the tyrants' court is integral to the criticism of the Four, which focuses on exposing Plato's short-sighted political decisions; but it also provides the ground for the comparison with Philoxenus, as it is further clarified in a subsequent paragraph (*Or.* 3.391):

σὺ καὶ τῶν διθυραμβοποιῶν ἀξιοῖς καταγελᾶν ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὸ χαρίζεσθαι μόνον ὥρμημένων. φαίνεται δὲ Φιλόξενον μὲν τὸν Κυθήριον οὐ δυνηθεῖς αὐθις ὑφ' αὐτῷ λαβεῖν Διονύσιος, ἀλλ' οἰμώζειν ἐκεῖνος ἐλευθέρως γράφων αὐτῷ, σοῦ δέ γε δεύτερον καὶ τρίς ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος μετὰ τὰς πρῶτας ἐκείνας διατριβάς.

You also think that you should mock dithyrambic poets since they are intent only on pleasing and gratifying. Still it is clear that Dionysius was unable to get *Philoxenus of Cythera* in his hands a second time, but *Philoxenus writes to him frankly to go hang; while after that first stay Dionysius got you in his power a second and a third time.*

I shall return to the details of the epistolary anecdote referred to here, but for the time being let us establish more fully the story concerning Philoxenus' Sicilian stay. As is pointed out by Eric Csapo, already by the last decades of the fifth century the popularity of New Music had extended well beyond the boundaries of Athens, and the best new musicians had been attracted elsewhere, especially to the courts of foreign tyrants where they held the position

15 Translations of *Or.* 3 are adapted from Behr 1986.

of “top entertainers”.¹⁶ According to a tradition that seems to have been quite common among authors of the Roman period, Philoxenus too left Athens for the court of Dionysius the Elder, where he was summoned together with other contemporary poets and intellectuals.¹⁷ After falling into Dionysius’ disfavour, however, Philoxenus was sent to the tyrant’s notorious prison-quarries, the *Latomiae*, from which he was finally able to escape, never to return to Syracuse, in spite of Dionysius’ attempt to call him back. It is specifically Philoxenus’ difficult relationship with the Sicilian tyranny, therefore, that underlies his presence alongside Plato in Aristides’ oration. In fact, Plato and Philoxenus’ Sicilian association was nothing new, for it can be found in other texts of the Roman period.¹⁸ Still, as is apparent, Aristides insists not so much on the correspondence but on the differences between the two: as the Four specify, Plato ‘did not share’ Philoxenus’ punishment in the quarries (οὐ μετέσχευς τῆς Φιλοξένου τοῦ διθυραμβοποιοῦ τύχης), but more importantly, he acted ‘quite contrary to’ Philoxenus (πῶς ἀντίπαλα ἐκείνῳ) in choosing to return repeatedly to the tyrants who abused him (σοῦ δέ γε δεύτερον καὶ τρίς ἐγκρατῆς γενόμενος μετὰ τὰς πρώτας ἐκείνας διατριβάς).

But Aristides’ decision to resort to Philoxenus has clearly to do *also* with the *Gorgias* and its new musical polemics. The oration alludes explicitly to *Grg.* 501d–502d (σὺ καὶ τῶν διθυραμβοποιῶν ἀξιοῖς καταγελαῖν ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὸ χαρίζεσθαι μόνον ὥρμημένων), a criticism of the flattering nature of the New Music which is, in Aristides’ view, completely contradicted by the political behaviour of a new musician like Philoxenus. If the dithyrambic poet had aimed only at pleasing his audience, and his patron, he would have returned to Syracuse when Dionysius called him back. When set against the backdrop of their Sicilian adventures, Aristides implies, it is Plato rather than Philoxenus who appears excessively willing to please the tyrant; Plato is the real flatterer, not the new musicians nor the Four, as claimed in the *Gorgias*.

In addition to the specific reference to the dialogue, the oration’s interplay with the new musical discourse initiated by Plato is revealed also by the way in which the Four characterise the new musician. Apart from indicating the nature of his production, the presentation of Philoxenus as a ‘dithyrambic poet’ (τοῦ διθυραμβοποιοῦ) counterbalances the attack of the *Gorgias* on διθυραμβοποισί, while pointing to the centrality of the dithyramb in the development of the New Music: as suggested by John Franklin (2013, 235), considering

16 Csapo (2004, 209) recalls Melanippides, Euripides, Agathon, and Timotheus, who became all “permanent residents” of the tyrants of Macedon.

17 Cf. Diod. Sic. 15.6, Paus. 1.2.3, Ath. 1.6e.

18 See esp. Diod. Sic. 15.7 and Plut. *Tranqu. an.* 471e.

the “massive scale of dithyrambic performance in Athens”, the genre must have functioned as an effective “participatory mass medium for the spread of New Musical ideas”. So Aristides’ insistence on the dithyrambic character of Philoxenus sounds like a distant, second-century AD echo of the new musical role of the dithyramb—obviously, filtered and mediated through Plato.

If Aristides’ recourse to Philoxenus is meant as an elegant and well-calibrated reaction to Plato’s musical critique, however, it is not so much to the strictly musical aspects of the figure of the new musician but rather to his political implications that the *Reply* draws attention. This choice too, though, is perfectly in line with the demonisation of New Music by its late classical critics, first and foremost Plato. In their view, New Music was not only shameful per se, but extremely dangerous for the socio-political effects it could bring about. Albeit implicit, a link between politics and music was already present in the *Gorgias*, for Socrates compared the Four to new musicians in order to expose them as bad politicians. Elsewhere, Plato had been even more straightforward in condemning the political implications of ‘modern’ musical practice: most famously, in *Lg.* 3.700a–701a the licence shown by fourth-century composers in perverting the traditional system of lyric genres was censured as a major cause of ‘musical lawlessness’ among ‘the people’ (700e τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνέθεσαν παρανομίαν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν), which in turn infused into the masses a more general, politically dangerous sense of ‘democracy’ and ‘freedom’.¹⁹ This deviant symbiosis between music and politics, as depicted by Plato, has been thoroughly unpacked by Csapo (2004, 241 and 246):

*Musical self-indulgence was [...] not only endemic to democracy, it actually created democracy: teatrocracy and democracy are necessarily linked, since the former is the cultural and the latter the political face of the indiscipline which arises when the masses [...] are permitted to run amuck [...]. It is apparent that New Music came to symbolize the most threatening and unpleasant features of democracy itself.*²⁰

It is therefore also in light of Plato’s rejection of the political, and especially democratic, side of New Music, I suggest, that Aristides’ emphasis on Philoxenus’ political conduct is better understood. Besides matching the political content of the *Reply in Defence of the Four*, referring to the story of Philoxenus at the

19 *Lg.* 3.701a: εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ δημοκρατία ἐν αὐτῇ [in music] τις μόνον ἐγένετο ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲν ἂν πάννυ γε δεινὸν ἦν τὸ γεγονός νῦν δὲ ἤρξε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐκ μουσικῆς ἢ πάντων εἰς πάντα σοφίας δόξα καὶ παρανομία, συνεφέσπετο δὲ ἐλευθερία.

20 My emphasis. Similarly, LeVen 2014, 330; cf. also D’Angour 2011, 204.

Syracusan court allows Aristides to turn Plato's political criticism of the new musicians directly against him, by contrasting his weak political judgement with the sounder one displayed by a new dithyrambist. Indeed, the political significance of Aristides' manoeuvre cannot be overstressed: the elitist Plato, who objected to New Music as demagogic and politically subversive in spreading lawlessness and democratic freedom, is taught a bitter lesson in politics by one of New Music's most successful poets, whose superiority over Plato, it should be noted, depends specifically on his frankness and *free-spiritedness* (see *Or.* 2.391 ἐλευθέρως γράφων) in dealing with a tyrannical ruler.

2 Aristides' *Philoxeniana* and Philoxenus' *Cyclops*

Now that we have analysed closely what function Philoxenus and the New Music serve in Aristides' *Or.* 3, in the discussion that follows I would like to examine what kind of sources underpin Aristides' reception of Philoxenus, in order to contextualise the depiction of the new dithyrambist found in the *Reply* within the broader framework of the learned sophistic culture shared by Aristides and the readers of his Platonic essay. From where did Aristides and his imperial contemporaries derive their knowledge of Philoxenus? Notably, even though Aristides' starting point for the oration was offered by Plato and the *Gorgias*, no mention of Philoxenus appears in this or in any other Platonic dialogue. By resorting to Philoxenus, therefore, Aristides proves able to think outside the 'Platonic' box, and to give his own original contribution to the musical debate promoted by his rhetorical opponent.

As for the specific nature of the material regarding Philoxenus deployed in the *Reply*, as is evident from *Or.* 3.386 and 391 cited above, in the essay Philoxenus' presence rests on the anecdotal tradition about his Sicilian experience. Often overlooked in comparison to textual quotations and allusions, or dismissed as mostly fictional, in antiquity biographical anecdotes concerning poets and musicians represented in fact an extremely popular form of reception: as neatly summarised by Pauline LeVen, these stories functioned as a powerful "means of accessing a form of [...] textual unconscious", namely the complex of "ideas about poets, poetry, and their place in society [...] shared by a community without being consciously formulated".²¹ This observation

21 LeVen 2013, 26. The fictional character of the ancient lives of poets is analysed in an influential study by Mary R. Lefkowitz (1981). More recently, scholars like Barbara Graziosi and Pauline LeVen herself have begun shifting the attention to what these fictions can tell us in terms of a poet's popularity and reception among different audiences and

applies all the more to the literary culture of the Second Sophistic, where, in the words of Simon Goldhill, anecdotes acted as “the *muthos* of literate culture”, as a “handbook for the discursive performance of the *pepaideumenoi*”, allowing them to display their learning “at an everyday and oral level”.²² In recalling Philoxenus’ eventful Sicilian biography, therefore, Aristides draws on the poetic culture and “textual unconscious” that contributed to keep Philoxenus’ figure alive among learned imperial authors and readers. Of course, in order to build a portrait of the musician that could be adequately, and positively, opposed to Plato, Aristides has selected only some peculiar episodes from the anecdotal repertoire featuring Philoxenus, using just some very precise strands of what LeVen has collectively named *Philoxeniana*.

Apparently, some of the most famous anecdotes regarding Philoxenus involved his immoderate passion for food and gastronomic pleasures (above all fish), and at least two of these stories were set during the musician’s Sicilian stay. According to a *chreia* by the Hellenistic poet Machon, quoted by Athenaeus, when in Syracuse, Philoxenus risked dying of indigestion after eating an entire octopus ‘three feet wide’. Then, on the occasion of a dinner with Dionysius himself, Philoxenus convinced the tyrant with a witty answer to let him eat his own, bigger red mullet.²³

And yet, no matter how memorable it was, to exploit the characterisation of Philoxenus as a dissolute gourmand incapable of self-restraint would have been of no use for Aristides’ rhetorical purposes. Instead, in their reply to Plato, the Four enhance the political element of the oration, as well as the discussion of Plato’s allegiance to the Syracusan tyrants, by recalling Philoxenus’ problematic association with Dionysius and his determination to end it at the first sign of trouble. The anecdote chosen is outlined only briefly. When Philoxenus is introduced, the Four allude to his imprisonment in the quarries through the observation that Plato ‘did not share the fate’ of the new musician (*Or.* 3.386), whereas in the following passage concerning him (§ 391), it is said just that, invited a second time to Dionysius’ court, Philoxenus wrote to the tyrant ‘to go hang’. Such a sketchy account can only be explained as a result

interpretative communities: see Graziosi 2002 and 2016, LeVen 2013 and 2014, 113–49; cf. also Lefkowitz 2016. Similarly, Beecroft 2010, esp. 1–4.

22 Goldhill 2009, 106 and 111. Goldhill discusses in particular the use of anecdotes in Philostratus’ *Lives of the Sophists*, and in works such as Plutarch’s *Table-Talk*. Still, I suggest that Goldhill’s general considerations about the place of anecdotal traditions in the Greek culture of the imperial period may be usefully extended to other imperial writers, such as Aristides.

23 Ath. 8.341b–d (= Macho fr. 9 Gow), 1.6e–f (= Phaenias fr. 13 Wehrli). On Philoxenus’ notorious gluttony see further LeVen 2013 and 2014, 121–34.

of the popularity enjoyed by the anecdote in question: Aristides must have been sure that his readers, or at least the majority of them, would be able to integrate the missing pieces of his narrative. This idea is actually confirmed by the sources—an ancient commentary to the oration and various collections of proverbs—which provide a fuller contextualisation of the episode. According to the scholiast on Aristides' passage, when Dionysius found out about Philoxenus' flight and wrote to ask him to return to Syracuse, Philoxenus sent him a scroll full of concentric omicrons, standing for the negative οὐ and meant to express the poet's firm denial. This event, the scholion continues, was at the origin of the proverbial expression τὸ Φιλοξένου οὐ, used for 'those who refuse obstinately' (Schol. Aristid. *Or.* 3.391 D.). As further evidence of its diffusion, the proverb was included in the collection of the paroemiographers which goes under the name of Diogenianus (8.54 L.-S.) and in that compiled by Apostolius (17.5 L.-S.), while in the *Suda* the same story was recorded under the heading Φιλοξένου γραμμάτιον.

The seemingly well-known anecdote about Philoxenus' epistle fleshes out the portrait of the new musician as a politically positive figure, in stark contrast with Plato's. Its epistolary character, furthermore, might have a slightly ironic implication too. Philoxenus snubs Dionysius in a letter, but it is also in a letter, the *Seventh Letter* mentioned above, that we learn of Plato's troubles with the same tyrants. What is more, the Platonic epistle itself refers to an epistolary exchange between Plato and Dionysius the Younger which could not differ more from the one involving Dionysius the Elder and Philoxenus. According to the *Seventh Letter*, when Plato went back to Athens from his second Sicilian stay, Dionysius wrote to him that the 'affairs' of his friend Dion rested upon his return to Syracuse; a not so veiled threat to which, despite his 'many fears', Plato replied by setting out to Sicily once again.²⁴ In light of this further Platonic intertext, the story of Philoxenus' letter appears to reverse Plato's behaviour down to the last detail.²⁵

Even more than Philoxenus' refusal per se, it is rather the straightforward, fearless tone of its expression that is emphasised in the anecdotal tradition, and foregrounded by Aristides as well. Instead of tactfully declining Dionysius' invitation, Philoxenus is not afraid to answer with an inflexible 'no', or, in Aristides' colourful formulation, of writing to Dionysius 'to go to hell' (οἰμώζειν). As already suggested in the first section of the paper, the freedom of speech

24 [Pl.] *Ep.* 7.339b-340a. Unsurprisingly, soon after Plato's return, Dionysius started acting (345c) 'as if he had completely forgotten his letter'.

25 Even if no reference is made to [Pl.] *Ep.* 7 in the *Reply*, Aristides knew well this text: see *Or.* 2.285 and 296.

displayed with his letter by Philoxenus contributes, in the oration's politically charged reception of New Music, to present the new musician as a champion of democratic freedom who, in spite of Plato's censure of New Music's audience-pleasing flattery and dangerous political influences, in fact outdid Plato in anti-flattery. On closer inspection, such a characterisation seems actually to have been particularly widespread in the Roman period, and not only thanks to the epistolary anecdote recalled in the *Reply*. According to a tradition recurring, with some variations, in Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Lucian, the reason behind Philoxenus' punishment in the quarries was the poet's failure to praise Dionysius' own mediocre poetical attempts: to quote Diodorus, when asked about his opinion on the tyrant's 'awful' poems (τῶν τοῦ τυράννου ποιημάτων μοχθηρῶν ὄντων) just read during a court symposium, Philoxenus once again replied 'rather frankly' (ἀποκριναμένου δ' αὐτοῦ παρρησιωδέστερον).²⁶ In line with the episode of the letter, and in anticipation of that final exploit, the story of Philoxenus as critic of Dionysius' poetry further depicts the new musician practising, at a tyrannical court, the *parrhēsia* proper to a free Athenian citizen, and so completes the picture of Philoxenus' reception as a substantially democratic figure.²⁷ The democratic aspect of Philoxenus' persona, and the positive light in which it is presented in the *Reply*, not only contrasts with the description of Plato as a complaisant victim of tyrants: it also serves brilliantly Aristides' refutation of Plato's political criticism against New Music and its democratic effects.

The analysis conducted so far has revealed for the first time the artful ploy involving the New Music devised by Aristides in *Or.* 3 in order to oppose Plato and the *Gorgias*. Especially, in the last part of the discussion the attention has been focused on defining on which 'strings' of the ancient tradition concerning Philoxenus Aristides has played to ensure the success of his Platonic ploy. In what remains of the paper, I would like to suggest that Aristides' engagement with the *Philoxeniana* in the *Reply* might have been even *deeper* than is indicated by the explicit mention of Philoxenus and his letter to Dionysius. In fact, it is my contention that *Or.* 3 also alludes to Philoxenus' *Cyclops*, a dithyramb traditionally composed during the poet's Sicilian stay. As we shall see, an allusion of this kind would be entirely at home within Aristides' political treatment of the figure of Philoxenus. At the same time, the presence of a subtle

26 Diod. Sic. 15.6.2; cf. Plut. *Alex. magn. fort.* 334c and Luc. *Adv. indoct.* 15. In both Plutarch and Lucian, Dionysius attempts to compose specifically tragic poetry. According to Plutarch's account, moreover, Philoxenus offended the tyrant 'for when Dionysius ordered him to correct a tragedy of his, Philoxenus cancelled the whole piece from the very beginning to the final flourish'.

27 Cf. LeVen 2014, 146.

literary hint in the text of the oration would only enrich the literate exchange between Aristides and the learned readership of his essay.

In between the two paragraphs where Philoxenus is referred to, Aristides has the Four comment once more upon Plato's repeated voyages to Sicily (*Or.* 3.388f.):

πάλιν σε χειροῦται Διονύσιος, ἐλπίδας φιλανθρώπους ὑποτείνας, καὶ πάλιν αὖ τῶν τῆς τυραννίδος κακῶν ἐπειρῶ, τὸ τρίτον πλεύσας ὥσπερ οἱ παλαισταὶ παλαίουσι, δις μὲν πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν προσπταίσας, τρίτον δ' ὅλως πρὸς τύραννον καὶ τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν. Οὕτως οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐξ οὐρίας τὰ πάντα ἔθεις. τί οὖν ἡμῖν τὴν τύχην προφέρεις αὐτὸς τοιαύτης πεπειραμένος; ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ Ὀδυσσεὺς τῷ Μενέλεω τὴν πλάνην ὠνείδιζεν, ὦ οὗτος, ἦκον μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸς μετὰ πάντων, μετὰ πλειόνων δὲ ἢ σὺ καὶ θᾶττον ἢ σὺ, καὶ πλεύσας οὐκ ἴσα· καὶ πρὸς γε οὐ περιεργασάμενος, ὥσπερ σὺ καθήμενος ἐν Σικελίᾳ παρὰ τῷ Κύκλωπι.

Again Dionysius mastered you by offering generous hopes, and again you experienced the evils of tyranny, having set sail for the third time, like a wrestler, twice thrown by the same opponent, and a total of three times by a tyrant and a tyrannical house. Thus even you did not always run with a favourable breeze. Why then having experienced such fortune do you criticise our fortune? As if Odysseus should blame Menelaus' wanderings: 'Dear sir, I myself did not come back with all my men, but with more than you and sooner than you, and with not the same kind of voyage. And besides, I did not have needless trouble like you *idling in Sicily with the Cyclops*'.

With a fiction-within-the-fiction, Aristides depicts the Four imagining a dialogue between Menelaus and Odysseus, the latter representing Plato while the Four impersonate Menelaus. The association of Plato with Odysseus had already appeared earlier in the *Reply*, and was obviously based on the fact that the ancient philosopher and the epic hero had somehow shared troubled wanderings.²⁸ More to the point, given the popular identification of the Cyclops' island with Sicily, the image of Odysseus wasting time dealing with Polyphemus provided a clever and meaningful comparandum to Plato's unsuccessful dealings with the Syracusan tyrants, who, when put to the test, proved just as hospitable as the Cyclops. Considering Homer's prominent place in imperial

28 Cf. *Or.* 3.385: 'after escaping not only several deaths, *like some Odysseus*, but also slavery'.

Greek culture and education, the implications carried by the Odyssean inter-text must have been obvious to any average educated reader of *Or.* 3.²⁹

The Odyssean content of the scene imagined by the Four, however, may also be relevant to the Philoxenian character of the passage. If we recall that, as noted in the introduction, Philoxenus' name had since antiquity been linked to the composition of a dithyramb centered precisely on the myth of Polyphemos and titled *Cyclops*—or, according to some sources, *Galatea*—, the presence of the Cyclops in a paragraph framed by two references to Philoxenus cannot but look suspicious.³⁰ In addition, as stressed in the first section, the dithyrambic nature of Philoxenus' poetry is insistently underscored by Aristides: apart from flagging the centrality of the genre in both New Music and Platonic criticism of New Music, this insistence would resonate well with an allusion to a famous Philoxenian dithyramb.

There is also a detail, in Aristides' Odyssean passage, which seems to point even more decisively to Philoxenus' *Cyclops* and to a well-known tradition about its genesis. According to a fragment of the Peripatetic Phaenias quoted by Athenaeus (1.6f-7a),

συνεμέθυε δὲ τῷ Φιλοξένῳ ἡδέως ὁ Διονύσιος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐρωμένην Γαλάτειαν ἐφωράθη διαφθείρων, εἰς τὰς λατομίας ἐνεβλήθη· ἐν αἷς ποιῶν τὸν Κύκλωπα συνέθηκε τὸν μῦθον εἰς τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν γενόμενον πάθος, τὸν μὲν Διονύσιον Κύκλωπα ὑποστησάμενος, τὴν δ' αὐλητρίδα Γαλάτειαν, ἑαυτὸν δ' Ὀδυσσεά.

Dionysius used to enjoy getting drunk with Philoxenus; but when the poet was caught in the act of seducing the tyrant's mistress Galatea, he was thrown into the quarries. There he wrote his *Cyclops* and adapted the plot to his own unhappy fate, *making Dionysius the Cyclops*, the pipe-girl Galatea and himself Odysseus.³¹

A similar account is found in a scholion on Ar. *Pl.* 290 Ch., where it is recorded that, after leaving Syracuse following the scandal of Dionysius' courtesan and his punishment in the quarries, Philoxenus composed a 'play' called *Galatea*,

29 For Homeric poetry in the Second Sophistic, see Kindstrand 1973; Zeitlin 2001; Hunter 2004, 250-3; Kim 2010, esp. 4-10.

30 For the testimonies and remaining fragments of the dithyramb, see Philox. *PMG* 815-24. Hordern 1999 has reconstructed the poem's plot on the basis of a letter by the late antique rhetorician Synesius of Cyrene (*Ep.* 121). Rather than paraphrasing Philoxenus' dithyramb, however, Synesius' Odyssean narrative seems to have been artfully contrived by the orator himself, as it mirrors closely the epistolary context.

31 Trans. D.A. Campbell.

ἐν ᾧ εἰσήνεγκε τὸν Κύκλωπα ἐρώντα τῆς Γαλατείας· τοῦτο δὲ αἰνιττόμενος εἰς Διονύσιον· ἀπέίκασε γὰρ αὐτὸν τῷ Κύκλωπι ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Διονύσιος οὐκ ὠξυδόρκει.

in which he introduced the Cyclops in love with Galatea. *This was a riddling reference to Dionysius, whom he likened to the Cyclops since the tyrant's own eyesight was poor.*³²

In this version of the friction between Philoxenus and Dionysius, the figure of the outspoken poet punished for refusing to compliment Dionysius' dull poetry gives way to the depiction of Philoxenus as a "bad symposiast, showing *hybris* and lack of *sophrosynē* in his inability to contain his appetite for [...] sex".³³ On the other hand, the idea of Philoxenus as opponent of the tyrant is still very active in the story of his dithyramb as a mocking parody of the romantic scandal. This biographical interpretation originated most probably from the attempt to explain the poem's innovative treatment of the myth of Polyphemus: as far as we can reconstruct, in the *Cyclops* Philoxenus introduced for the first time the motif of Polyphemus' love for Galatea, later on taken up and developed by Hellenistic authors.³⁴

In any case, as a result of the biographical reading, Dionysius ended up being identified with the Cyclops of Philoxenus' dithyramb, exactly the *same* parodic identification noticed in *Or.* 3.389: by comparing Plato in Sicily with Odysseus, Aristides directly equated Dionysius (in Plato's case, both the Elder and the Younger) with Polyphemus. If such an association occurred in a generic context, then there would be no need to bring into play Philoxenus and his *Cyclops*. However, considering the markedly Philoxenian character of the section, I argue that the Cyclopic simile should be interpreted as a further, final element in the complex web of literary references to Philoxenus and the New Music skilfully woven by Aristides in the *Reply*. Fragments of the *Cyclops* are quoted in other writers of the period, but Aristides did not need to know the text of the dithyramb to be aware of and exploit its alleged political reading.³⁵ As clearly indicated by both Athenaeus' passage and the Aristophanic scholion cited above, the interpretation had entered the anecdotal tradition regarding Philoxenus and circulating among imperial *pepaideumenoí*, the *Philoxeniana*

32 Trans. D.A. Campbell.

33 LeVen 2014, 130.

34 Cf. e.g. Theocr. 11; see further Hordern 2004.

35 Quotes from Philoxenus' dithyramb: Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 1.622c; Zen. vulg. 5.45; Diogenian. 7.19; Ath. 13.564c-f.

on which Aristides has been here demonstrated to draw extensively in *Or.* 3. A reference to Philoxenus' purported political satire against Dionysius would represent a refined finishing touch in Aristides' portrait of the new dithyrambist as a good example for refusing to flatter a tyrant, and accordingly the final blow in Aristides' counter-attack on Plato.

Conclusions

Written to defend four of the best known Athenian statesmen and rhetoricians, and through them rhetoric itself, from the accusations of flattery and corruption made against them in Plato's *Gorgias*, in the section analysed in this paper, Aelius Aristides' *Or.* 3 becomes in some way a defence of the New Music in the person of the new dithyrambist Philoxenus of Cythera. The reason behind this must be found in Aristides' own polemical aim: in the *Gorgias*, Plato's criticism of public speaking had gone hand in hand with his disapproval of contemporary music, excessively pleasing and both morally and politically dangerous. As in a mirror, therefore, the influential role played by Plato as detractor of New Music is reflected in Aristides' rhetorical manoeuvre against him. The originality of this move should not be downplayed. In defiance of the Platonic narrative of musical decadence and moral degeneration attached to the New Music, which was commonly accepted and reiterated by later authors, Aristides rehabilitates a notorious new musician like Philoxenus, and this precisely by contrasting him favourably with Plato as far as politics is concerned. In particular, as we have seen, through a thoughtful use of the learned anecdotes and "textual unconscious" concerning the poet, his relationship with the Syracusan court, and his dithyrambic production, Aristides' Philoxenus comes to represent a model of frankness and anti-flattery that counters and overturns Plato's political criticism of the new musical phenomenon. From this point of view, the fact that in the *Reply* Aristides is moved by his own vested interest in endorsing the Four and rejecting the *Gorgias* does not undermine the striking effect or detract from the significance of the revenge that Philoxenus, and his *Cyclops*, are finally allowed to take on Plato.

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New Music

What Revolution in Rhythms?

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Abstract

The examination of ancient historical accounts of the development of *rhythmopoia* in ancient Greek music and the analysis of the main rhythmical features associated with modernist composers of the late fifth-early fourth century BC show that the actual 'novelty' of New Music style in this field lies in a more consistent and elaborate use of existing resources rather than in the invention of new practices (perhaps, with the only exception of warbles). Among other passages, Ar. *Th.* 120-2 and Tim. *PMG* 791.229-33 are taken into deeper consideration.

Keywords

New Music – musical rhythm – *rhythmopoia* – Timotheus of Miletus – Euripides – Agathon – Aristophanes – Aristoxenus

1 Οἱ μὲν νῦν φιλομελεῖς, οἱ δὲ τότε φιλόρρυθμοι: a Diachronic Look at Ancient Greek *Rhythmopoia*

"Much fifth-century choral and dramatic lyric is characterized by the use of rhythms of more than one category. Sometimes it is a matter of introducing a brief element of contrast with a prevailing rhythm, as when a dactylic line appears near the end of an iambic strophe, the last line being again iambic. Sometimes there is a definite change of horses, as in the third Epinician Ode of Bacchylides and the *Thirteenth Olympian* of Pindar, where aeolic passes into dactylo-epitrite. Often the situation is more complex. The greatest diversity of rhythms is found towards the end of the fifth century and in the early fourth,

in the elaborate compositions of kitharodes such as Timotheus and in some of the long solo arias and lyric dialogues of late Euripides and Sophocles”.

In this brief and precise account of Greek *rhythmopoia* in the Classical age, West (1992, 152f.) points out one of the most evident aspects of the style of composition of the so-called New Music: rhythmical variety (ποικιλία).¹ Instructive examples are Philoctetes’ dialogue with the sailor Chorus in Sophocles’ *Philoctetes* (1169-1217), the monody of the Phrygian slave in Euripides’ *Orestes* (1369-1502), or the narrative section of Timotheus’ *Persae* (PMG 791.1-201), all three extended compositions which blend together multifarious rhythms.² They also share a second feature, strictly intertwined with the previous: free form. This was not something new, for citharodic *nomos* seems to have been through-composed since the Archaic age (cf. [Arist.] *Pr.* 19.15), but it was extended to other kinds of vocal music, including choral compositions (esp. the dithyramb).³ The reasons for this wider use are not difficult to understand: compared with strophic structure, free form allowed greater freedom in the use of different rhythms within the same song, since the composer was not compelled to observe any responsive principle between strophe and antistrophe; at the same time, the melody could be shaped throughout to adhere more strictly to the emotional nuances of the words.

- 1 Cf. also West 1982, 135-7, and, for a historical overview of the relationship between musical rhythm and metre, Gentili 1988a, ch. 2; 1988b. Notice that rhythmical *poikilia* could also be enhanced by the musical accompaniment in several ways: on this aspect see below § 2.
- 2 Not all the compositions of the New Musicians were characterized by the same degree of rhythmical complexity: some of the fragments collected by Page and Campbell in their respective editions offer instances of less varied and quite traditional metrical patterns, as, for instance, the surviving lines of Melanippides’ *Danaids* (PMG 757) and Telestes’ *Marsyas* (PMG 805), both in *kat’enhoplion*-epitrites. This is true also for the *sphragis* or ‘seal’ of Timotheus’ *Persae* (PMG 791.202-36), in aeolic cola. But all this does not mean that *poikilia* was not the trademark of New Music’s composers.
- 3 The close connection between free form and citharodic *nomos* clearly emerges also from Heph. *Poem.* 3.3 (64f. Consbruch), where the examples are taken, not by chance, from the New Music: ἀπολελυμένα δέ (scil. ᾄσματα), ἃ εἰκὴ γέγραπται καὶ ἄνευ μέτρου ὠρισμένου, οἳ εἰσὶν οἱ νόμοι οἱ κιθαρωδικοὶ Τιμοθέου, “songs free from responsion [are] those written at random and without defined metre, such as the citharodic *nomoi* of Timotheus”. It might seem strange that Hephaestion limits himself only to this example, but one must bear in mind that his works have been epitomized over time, so that further examples could have fallen out of the text. As for free form in choral compositions, Aristotle (*Rh.* 1409b17-32) says that Melanippides II of Melos was the first to introduce it into the dithyramb through his *anabolai*, probably long astrophic sections opening the song as an extended prelude (on this passage see now Pöhlmann 2017, 196f.; Pöhlmann 2018; Ercoles 2018). Before Melanippides, we meet free form in a choral song only in the first, excited section of the *parodos* of Aeschylus’ *Seven against Thebes* (78-150, on which see Hutchinson 1985, 57-9 and Lomiento 2004).

Such a variety is widely attested by ancient sources. Plato, as is well known, criticized the style of Timotheus and the other innovative composers as too complex and intricate, far from the simple kind of music which he thought appropriate for education (*Lg.* 812d-e):

These, then, are the ends for which the kitharist and the person being educated should use the sounds of the lyre, because of the clarity of its strings: they should present notes that are like the notes sung by voices. But as for heterophony or variety in the lyre, with the strings emitting a tune different from that of the composer of the melody, either by presenting a consonance of notes close together in contrast to notes sung further apart, or by swift tempo in contrast to slow, or by sharp notes in contrast to flat, or as for using the sounds of the lyre to present all sorts of similar variations in rhythm (καὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν ὡσαύτως παντοδαπὰ ποικίλματα προσαρμόττοντας τοῖσι φθόγγοις τῆς λύρας)—all such things will be inappropriate for those who are supposed to grasp quickly, in three years, what is useful in music. Things that contradict one another are disturbing, and produce difficulty in learning.⁴

However, he gives us no details about the intricate variations (ποικίλματα) of which he speaks. A less vague account is provided by the much later Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who devotes a chapter of his treatise *On stylistic composition* to the issue of *poikilia*. Here he observes that (19.7):

The ancient writers of lyric poetry—I refer to Alcaeus and Sappho—made their strophes short, so that they did not introduce many variations (οὐ πολλὰς εἰσήγον μεταβολὰς) in the clauses, which were few in number, while the use they made of the epode⁵ was very slight. Stesichorus and Pindar framed their periods on a larger scale, and divided them into many measures and clauses, simply from the love of variety (οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἔρωτι).

The dithyrambic poets used to change even the modes (καὶ τοὺς τρόπους μετέβαλλον), introducing Dorian and Phrygian and Lydian modes in the same song; and they varied the melodies, making them now

4 Transl. by Pangle (1980, 203).

5 The reference seems to be not to the adonian clausula in the Sapphic stanza (so e.g. Campbell 1982, 35), but to distichs, such as those of Alc. fr. 303a V. and Sapph. fr. 99a L.-P. (ἄγλυε || ἄγλυε ἰα |||). Cf. also Sapph. 101A (γλυε || ἥππ |||) and 104A V. (hex || ἰα 5δα, |||), both uncertain; see Neri 2017, 366f., 372f., and LXIX (on Sapphic distichs).

enharmonic, now chromatic, now diatonic; and in the rhythms they continually showed the boldest independence (τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς κατὰ πολλὴν ἄδειαν ἐνεξουσιάζοντες διετέλουν)—I mean Philoxenus, Timotheus, Telestes, and men of their stamp—since among the ancients even the dithyramb had been subject to strict metrical laws (ἐπεὶ παρὰ γε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τεταγμένος ἦν καὶ ὁ διθύραμβος).⁶

In this brief historical sketch, Dionysius singles out three stages within the progressive development of the ancient *rhythmopoia*: first, the simpler compositions of Sappho and Alcaeus, characterized by a limited use of rhythmic variation; then the wider (triadic) strophic structures of Stesichorus and Pindar, which allowed for a greater variety of rhythms; finally, the intricate patterns of Timotheus and the other New Musicians, freed from any metrical restriction (in all probability, the reference is to the abandonment of metrical responsion). But it was not only a matter of rhythmic variation—Dionysius underlines—it was also a question of harmonic modulation from one mode to another and from one genus to another. This second aspect is given more prominence by the rhetorician, who cites it in the first place and introduces it with an emphatic καί: he seems to point out that before the exponents of the New Music there was no attempt at harmonic *metabolē*, while rhythmic *metabolē* was prepared by a gradual development.

Such a contrast between harmonic and rhythmic *poikilia* recurs in another historical account, transmitted by the Ps.-Plutarchan treatise *On music* (1138b-c) and probably deriving from Aristoxenus, one of the main sources of the treatise, and the most important one.⁷ As Barker has shown, the whole section comprising chapters 17 to 21 is unified by a single continuous theme:⁸ the contention that the composers of the Archaic and early Classical period, although they used only rather simple musical resources, were nevertheless aware of all the other musical possibilities which were exploited by their successors in the later fifth and the fourth century BC, particularly by composers of the New Music. In other words, it was only ‘for deliberate choice’ (διὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν), and ‘not from ignorance’ (οὐ δι’ ἄγνοιαν), that older composers did not make use of some musical resources used by later composers. The Aristoxenian origin of this theme is strongly suggested by the fact that it includes two

6 Transl. by Rhys Roberts (1910, 195), with some adjustments.

7 Cf. Meriani 2003, 74-80, with further bibliography. It may suffice here to observe that the two main speaking characters of the treatise are clearly identified as Aristoxenians at 1146f (καθάπερ πού φησι καὶ ὁ ὑμέτερος Ἀριστόξενος, cf. fr. 122 Wehrli²).

8 Cf. Barker 2012, 17f.; see also Power 2012, 133-48.

arguments—the avoidance of some notes from the *Spondeiazon tropos* (*Mus.* 19.1137b-d) and the chromatic genus from early tragedy (20.1137e-f)—whose “Aristoxenian lineage is unmistakable”.⁹

Consequently, if Aristoxenus is “responsible not only for recording the facts preserved in these chapters but also for the thesis for which they provide the supporting evidence”,¹⁰ it is clear that the historical sketch must be treated cautiously, with the awareness that the interpretation of the facts is deeply influenced by the philosopher’s agenda and by his bias against the New Music.

Again, if you study the subject of complexity (ποικιλία) correctly and from a proper familiarity with it, and compare the older compositions with those of today, you will find that complexity was practiced in the old days too. The forms of rhythmic composition used by ancient composers were more complex (τῇ γὰρ περὶ τὰς ῥυθμοποιίας ποικιλία οὕση ποικιλωτέρα ἐχρήσαντο οἱ παλαιοί), since they appreciated rhythmic complexity, and their patterns of instrumental idiom were also more complicated (τὰ περὶ τὰς κρουσματικὰς δὲ διαλέκτους τότε ποικιλώτερα ἦν): for nowadays people’s interest is in the melody, whereas in the past they concentrated on the rhythm (οἱ μὲν γὰρ νῦν φιλομελεῖς, οἱ δὲ τότε φιλόρρυθμοι).

As to fragmented melodies (τῶν κεκλασμένων μελῶν), it is obvious that the ancient composers avoided them not through ignorance, but from choice (οὐ δι’ ἄγνοιαν ἀλλὰ διὰ προαίρεσιν). This is not surprising. There are, after all, many other activities in life which are not unknown to those who refrain from them, but are ones which these people find uncongenial, and which they refuse to use because of their unsuitability for certain purposes.¹¹

The passage is based on the comparison between the older compositions (τὰ τότε) and those of today (τὰ νῦν), the first ones characterized by a high degree of rhythmic variety, involving both the song and the instrumental accompaniment,¹² the others by a simpler rhythmical texture and, conversely, by a more varied harmonic *facies*. More precisely, the expression ‘fragmented melodies’ (κεκλασμένα μέλη), which refers to the ‘modern’ compositions,

9 Barker 2012, 17.

10 *Ibid.* 18.

11 Transl. by A. Barker (1984, 227), with some adjustments.

12 On this aspect cf. Barker 1995, 54, and see below § 2 (vii).

points to harmonic modulations, as it is also clear from its use in two other contexts, namely Plut. *Pyth. or.* 397a-b and Sext. Emp. *Math.* 6.15-6.¹³

It remains to define the historical periods implied by the adverbs ‘then’ (τότε) and ‘now’ (νῦν). The second makes reference to the fourth century BC, the age of Aristoxenus, as one can infer from the previous sentence,¹⁴ where the ‘present composers’ (οἱ νῦν) are those of the schools of Antigenidas and Dorion, two renown aulos-players active—respectively—in the first and in the second half of the century, and the citharodes who were followers of Polyidus, who won a dithyrambic victory at Athens sometime between 399/398 and 380/379 BC (cf. *Marm. Par. FGrHist* 239 A 68).¹⁵ The first adverb, on the other hand, refers to the Archaic and early Classical age: the ancient composers (οἱ τότε, οἱ παλαιοί) can be identified with composers such as Simonides and Pindar, both explicitly quoted at the end of chapter 20 as the main representatives of the so-called ‘ancient style of composition’ (ἀρχαῖος τρόπος).¹⁶ It is unlikely that the παλαιοί can be indentified as the innovative musicians active towards the end of the fifth century and in the early fourth, as has been advanced,¹⁷ since they cannot be said to have avoided ‘fragmented melodies’ (οἱ παλαιοὶ οὐ δι’ ἄγνοιαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ προαίρεσιν ἀπέιχοντο τῶν κεκλασμένων μελῶν).

All in all, the exponents of the New Music appear to be the glaring omission from this historical sketch: rhythmical complexity is here presented as a resource especially connected with the ancient style of composition. The

13 Plut. *Pyth. or.* 397a-b ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος (fr. 32 M.) “ἀκούσαι” φησὶ “τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Κάδμον [οὐ] μουσικὰν ὀρθάν”, οὐχ ἡδεῖαν οὐδὲ τρυφερὰν οὐδ’ ἐπικεκλασμένην τοῖς μέλεσιν, Sext. Emp. *Math.* 6.15f. καὶ τούτου μάρτυς ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ποιητῆς (scil. Aristophanes), λέγων (*Nu.* 961, 963f.) “λέξω τοῖνυν βίον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὃν ἐγὼ θνητοῖσι παρείχον”, “πρότερον γὰρ ἔδει παιδὸς φωνὴν γρύσαντος μηδὲν ἀκούσαι, / εἶτα βαδίζειν ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς εὐτάκτως ἐς κιθαριστοῦ”. ὅθεν εἰ καὶ κεκλασμένοις τισὶ μέλεσι νῦν καὶ γυναικῶδες ρυθμοὶς θηλύνει τὸν νοῦν ἢ μουσική, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ ἔπανδρον μουσικήν. One can not but remember the similar expression ἀνάτρητος τρόπος used by the anonymous author of *On tragedy* (§ 5) to denote the later Euripides’ musical style: cf. Perusino 1993, 67-9.

14 Cf. [Plut.] *Mus.* 1138a-b, καθόλου δ’ εἴ τις τῷ μὴ χρῆσθαι τεκμαιρόμενος καταγνώσεται τῶν μὴ χρωμένων ἄγνοιαν, πολλῶν ἂν τι φθάνοι καὶ τῶν νῦν καταγινώσκων, ὅσων τῶν μὲν Δωριωνείων τοῦ Ἀντιγενειδείου τρόπου καταφρονούντων, ἐπειδὴ περ οὐ χράνται αὐτῷ, τῶν δ’ Ἀντιγενειδείων τοῦ Δωριωνείου διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, τῶν δὲ κιθαρωδῶν τοῦ Τιμοθέου τρόπου· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀποπεφοιτήκασιν εἰς τε τὰ κατατύμματα καὶ εἰς τὰ Πολυεῖδου ποιήματα.

15 On Antigenidas and Dorion see West 1992, 367, 369; Fongoni 2014, 126f.; LeVen 2014, Table 1, with further references. On Polyidus, see the collection of testimonia in Campbell 1993, 198-201, and cf. West 1992, 372; Power 2012, 145f.

16 Cf. [Plut.] *Mus.* 1137f, Pancrates (probably a fourth-century composer) ἐξήλου γοῦν, ὥς αὐτὸς ἔφη, τὸν Πινδαρείον τε καὶ Σιμωνίδειον τρόπον καὶ καθόλου τὸν ἀρχαῖον καλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν νῦν.

17 Cf. West 1992, 153.

historical development of *rhythmopoia* seems to be opposite to the one presented by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, but the opposition is there in appearance only, since Aristoxenus takes as a point of comparison with ancient composers those of the later Classical age (the followers of Antigenidas, Polyidus and Dorion), which are not considered by Dionysius. Evidently, during the fourth century things gradually changed and rhythmic *poikilia* became less fashionable and was therefore not as much sought by *melopoioi* as it was previously. This seems to be confirmed—as has been observed by West (1992, 153)—by the fact that “most later Classical, Hellenistic, and post-Hellenistic texts, including the fragments that we possess with musical notation, are characterized by homogeneous rhythms”.

The reason for the absence of the New Music in the above account is to be found—I suggest—in the rhetorical strategy of Aristoxenus: by focusing on the opposition between contemporary original compositions and those of the ancient composers such as Simonides and Pindar he can make his argument (the οὐ δὲ ἄγνοιαν thesis) stronger, for such a comparison allows him to show that the older composers largely exploited the resources of *poikilia* in the matter of rhythm. The implication is that, if they availed themselves only of a short compass of notes and *harmoniai*, this was by deliberate choice.

There is no direct evidence for Aristoxenus' evaluation of the New Music's rhythmical innovations. However, it may be reasonably grasped from [Plut.] *Mus.* 12.1135c-d, a passage on the historical development of *rhythmopoia* which betrays an Aristoxenian approach to this aspect and could perhaps go back to Aristoxenus himself, as has been posited by several scholars.¹⁸

We also possess an account of rhythms: several additional genera and species of rhythm were discovered, as were new genera and species of melodic and rhythmic composition. The earliest innovations, those of Terpander, introduced a certain nobility of style into music (καλὸν τινα τρόπον). After Terpander's style had been adopted, Polymnestus employed a new one, though he maintained its elevated character, as did Thaletas and Sacadas. They also made innovations in rhythmic composition, but without stepping outside the elevated manner. There is also an element of originality in Alcman and Stesichorus, but it still involved no retreat from the noble manner. Crexus, Timotheus and Philoxenus, however, and

18 Cf. Westphal 1865, 14; Weil-Reinach 1900, 53; Visconti 1999, 135-9; Meriani 2003, 74-80. An Aristoxenian approach is revealed by the idea that innovations in music are not to be condemned in and of themselves, but only in so far as they depart from the good style of composition (cf. Privitera 1965, 74).

other poets of the same period, displayed more vulgarity (φορτικώτεροι) and a passion for novelty (φιλόκαινοι), and pursued the style nowadays called 'popular' (φιλόανθρωπον) or 'profiteering' (θεματικόν).

This picture perfectly agrees with that drawn by Dionysius of Halicarnassus: the innovations of Archaic and Classical composers are seen by him as a progressive phenomenon reaching its peak with Crexus, Timotheus and Philoxenus, animated by a strong passion for novelty, and also for vulgarity (a notion which clearly reflects the point of view of the conservatives).

2 Between Past and Present: the Style of the New Music and Its Main Rhythmic Features

As the reader may have observed, not even this last historical account provides any detail about the actual rhythmic features of the compositions by the exponents of the New Music. Some help comes, on the other hand, from different sources: mainly, from comic parodies (particularly those of Cinesias' and Euripides' compositions), from two musical documents preserving lines from late-Euripidean plays (*P. Vind.* G 2315 and *P. Leid.* inv. 510 = *DAGM* 3-4) and, finally, from metrical, rhythmical and rhetorical treatises.¹⁹

Beside (I) free form and (II) polymetry, discussed above, the main features can be summarized as follows:

(III) A more frequent, and sometimes insistent, recourse to resolutions of *longa*, especially in aeolics, ionics, dochmiacs and iambo-trochaics, a phenomenon which should convey an impression of increasing tempo (*accelerando*). This is particularly evident from Timotheus' *Persae*²⁰ and Euripides' later plays.²¹

Contrasts between swift and slow tempos (ἄγωγάι) are clearly pointed to by Plato at *Lg.* 812d-e (see above) and were probably exploited by modernist

19 Beside *Rh.* 1409b17-32 and Heph. *Poem.* 3.3 (64f. Consbruch), the rhythmical treatise preserved by *P. Oxy.* 9 + 2687 deserves careful attention. This rhythmical treatise exhibits some interesting examples of protracted syllables probably deriving from Late-classical or Hellenistic compositions (*Mel. adesp.* *PMG* 926): cf. Wilamowitz 1898, 699 and, lastly, Rossi 1988, 12 and n. 1, with further bibliography.

20 See e.g. *PMG* 791.21-9, 37f., 60, 65 (iamb.-troch.), 197, 211, 214, 231 (aeol.).

21 See e.g. *Hel.* 694-7 (dochm.), *Ph.* 202-38 (aeol.), 1567-9 (troch.), *Or.* 149-51, 174-7 (dochm.), 1414-6 (iamb.), *Ba.* 150f. (ion.), 576-603 (mainly aeol. and troch.). Cf. Dale 1968, 92f., 126, 153; Itsumi 1982, esp. 72 and 1984, 77f.; Lourenço 2012, 31, 92f., *passim*.

composers to convey pathetic or emotional effects.²² For instance, “it is tempting to view the insistent [Euripidean] use of anapaestic phrases consisting mainly or entirely of long syllables²³ as somehow indicative of a more contained level of grief than that expressed in dochmiac and iambo-trochaic, where the at times incontinent use of resolution lends the suffering of the solo singer an almost comic air of uncontrolled garrulity” (Lourenço 2012, 31). One might also expect that the resolved iambo-trochaics in Timotheus’ description of the naval battle of Salamis (*PMG* 791.21-30) would have rendered the speed of the flaming darts through the fast tempo of delivery.

Similar effects seem not to have been unknown before the New Music: between the end of the sixth and the first half of the fifth century BC, the famous Pratinas fragment (*TrGF* 4 F 3 = *PMG* 708)²⁴ exhibits a persistent use of resolutions in anapaests (1-6, 18),²⁵ which perfectly fits for the Chorus’ excited protest against the exuberance of the auletic accompaniment. In the same period, Lasus of Hermion is said to have ‘adapted his rhythms to the tempo of the dithyramb’ even in different kinds of song ([Plut.] *Mus.* 1141c):²⁶ although this account is not very clear, “it suggests a busier style of vocal music than had been customary, with more rapid and varied movement of the melodic line” (West 1992, 34).²⁷

(IV) The recurrent use of abnormal rhythmical feet, as is the case with the Euripidean glyconics parodied by Aristophanes at *Ra.* 1322-4, the first characterized by an anapaestic base (1322 = Eur. *Hyps.* fr. 765a Kannicht — — — — —), the other by an anapaestic ending (1323 — — — — —).²⁸ As observed by

22 On musical tempo in ancient Greek theory see, in particular, Rocconi 2007.

23 Cf. Lourenço 2012, 50f. for some examples.

24 The poetic genre of the fragment is much debated. Following D’Alessio (2007), Hedreen (2007) and Griffith (2013), I consider it a satyr play by Pratinas.

25 On this aspect see Gentili 1978, 13.

26 Λάσος δ’ ὁ Ἑρμιονεύς (test. 15 Brussich) εἰς τὴν διθυραμβικὴν ἀγωγὴν μεταστήσας τοὺς ῥυθμούς καὶ τῇ τῶν αὐλῶν πολυφωνίᾳ κατακολουθήσας πλείοσι τε φθόγγοις καὶ διερριμμένοις χρῆσάμενος εἰς μετὰθεσιν τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν ἤγαγε μουσικὴν.

27 On the excited dithyrambic *rhythmopoia*, see Procl. *Chr.* 48 (ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 239, 320b12-16, ἔστι δὲ ὁ μὲν διθύραμβος κεκινημένος καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἐνθουσιῶδες μετὰ χορείας ἐμφαίνων, εἰς πάθῃ κατασκευαζόμενος τὰ μάλιστα οἰκεῖα τῷ θεῷ καὶ σεσόβηται μὲν καὶ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς καὶ ἀπλουστερώς κέχρηται ταῖς λέξεσιν.

28 (Aeschylus) περίβαλλ’, ὦ τέκνον, ὠλένας. (— — — — —) / ὀράς τὸν πόδα τοῦτον;—(Euripides) ὀρῶ. (— — — — —) / (Aesch.) τί δαί; τοῦτον ὀράς;—(Eur.) ὀρῶ, (Aesch.) “Cast your arms about me, child ... / You see this foot?—(Eur.) I see it. / (Aesch.) Well, do you see this one? (Eur.) I see it”. For 1322 an earlier parallel is provided by Bacch. 18 str. 1 (— — — — —); for 1323 by Soph. *Al.* 231 = 255 (for other possible Euripidean instances of anapaestic ending cf. Itsumi 1984, 77). Since these abnormal forms appeared before Euripides, it is likely that Aristophanes’ parody was directed against their recurrent or even persistent use in

Dover (1993, 356), presumably at this point in the play Aeschylus is dancing while singing and “having executed a wildly exaggerated movement, perhaps deliberately clumsy, to accompany περίβαλλ’ [the anapaestic base], he draws attention to his own foot” (cf. 1323, ὀρᾷς τὸν πόδα τοῦτον; and 1324, τί δαί; τοῦτον ὀρᾷς;). Another similar instance is offered by the Aristophanic parody of Cinesias’ orchestric innovations at *Av.* 1378f., where the dithyrambist enters the stage performing a circular dance with ‘irregular’ steps: ‘Welcome, lime-woody Cinesias!’—Pisetherus exclaims as he sees him—‘Why have you circled your circling club-foot here?’.²⁹ Again, it is reasonable to assume that the reference operates at both the orchestric and the rhythmical level, each of which is strongly associated with the other: for this reason, Ruijgh is probably right in positing that the expression κυλλός ποὺς (‘club-foot’) hints at the abnormal ‘anaclastic’ form ~~~~ beginning a choriambic trimeter at 1374 and 1376f.³⁰ Another interesting aspect to be noted is the relationship between Cinesias and Anacreon. Since the first line sung by the dithyrambist comes from a famous poem by Anacreon (*PMG* 378) and exhibits a rhythmical variation in the first choriamb (a resolved *longum*: ~~~~),³¹ the parody seems to imply that Cinesias brought to the limit the rhythmical possibilities already exploited by the late-Archaic composer.³² As Ruijgh (1960, 321) observed, “on sait que les résolutions sont peu fréquentes dans les choriambes et que les contractions y sont extrêmement rares. Or, l’accumulation de ces phénomènes insolites [*scil.* by Cinesias] rend ce pied vraiment monstrueux”.

(V) Introduction of musical embellishments in vocal melody, such as warbles or trills.³³ This is the case with the famous parody of Euripidean choral and monodic songs at *Ar. Ra.* 1314 (εἰεἰεἰεἰεἰεἰλίσσετε) and 1348 (εἰεἰεἰλίσσουσα), where

at least one tragedy, which, however, is not among those which survive from antiquity. As for the second *colon*, a metrical interpretation as a particular form of choriambic dimeter B (~~~~,~~~~) is equally possible: cf. Ruijgh 1960, 320 with n. 2.

29 *Av.* 1378-9 ἀσπαζόμεσθα φιλόρρινον Κινησίαν. / τί δεῦρο πόδα σὺ κυλλὸν ἀνὰ κύκλον κυκλεῖς; On Cinesias’ innovations in dithyrambic circular dance see Lawler 1950; Borthwick 1968, 65; Ceccarelli 1998, 221; Andrisano 2002, esp. 277, 294f.; Fiorentini 2009 and 2017, 93f., 102f., with further bibliography.

30 *Av.* 1374, πέτομαι δ’ ὁδὸν ἄλλοτ’ ἐπ’ ἄλλαν μελέων, 1376-7 ἀφόβῳ φρενὶ σώματί τε νέαν ἐφέπων (the metrical scheme of these trimeters is as follows: ~~~~,~~~~,~~~~). Cf. Ruijgh 1960; see also Zanetto 1987, 291 and Dunbar 1995, 668.

31 *Anacr. PMG* 378, ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον πετερύγεσσι κούφῃς / διὰ τὸν Ἑρωτ’ οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ <~> θέλει συνηβάν.

32 On Anacreon’s use of choriambic rhythm see Heph. 30.6-10 Consbruch and Plotius Sacerdos, *Gr. Lat.* 6.536.4 Keil (*Anacr. test. metr.* XIV Gentili).

33 For the possibility that Phrynīs’ *καμπαί* (cf. *Ar. Nu.* 969-71) involved vocal melody too, cf. Andrisano 1988/1989.

a single syllable—the first one of the favourite Euripidean verb εἰλίσσω³⁴—is sung to several notes.³⁵ In all probability, the high number of notes is due to parodic exaggeration. The Vienna papyrus G 2315 (*DAGM* 3), preserving *Or.* 338-44 provided with musical semiography, offers at least one certain instance of a melisma, however restrained within narrower limits than the Aristophanic occurrences: the long syllable ὦς at l. 6 (*Or.* 343) is sung to two brief notes (ZI).³⁶

Such a practice should not seriously affect the rhythm of the lines, but simply make it more varied, probably also more expressive: in the case of εἰλίσσω, for example, the trill occurring in the first syllable might conjure the movement implied by the verb ('turning round'). A similar effect seems to have been sought by Simonides, on (at least) two occasions, by stretching out a long syllable and dividing it into two parts (— > —), a phenomenon which suggests the possibility of a melismatic rendering. In the first instance (*PMG* 543.9), the onomatopoeic verb for 'snore'/'slumber' is made trisyllabic (κνωώσσεις), likely to convey the impression of the deep slumber of the baby Perseus, while in second (*PMG* 587) the word for 'fire' is made disyllabic (πύρ), possibly to suggest the flickering flames.³⁷ Though there is no certainty about the performance of these lines, it is nonetheless reasonable to assume that the music was shaped to enhance the impressions conjured by the text and by the peculiar prosodic form of the words.

34 Cf. e.g. *El.* 437, *Hel.* 1362, *Ph.* 3, 234-5, 1186, *Or.* 444, *Ba.* 569-70, and see Csapo 1999/2000, 422.

35 *Ra.* 1313-15 αἶθ' ὑπὸ ῥόφιοι κατὰ γωνίας / εἰεἰεἰεἰεἰλίσσετε δακτύλοις φάλαγγες (possibly ———, a hipponactean with triple division of disemes in the 'aeolic basis') / ἰστότονα πηνίσματα, 'and ye spiders in the nooks under the roof / who wi-i-i-i-ind with your fingers / the loomstretched bobbinthread', and 1346-51 ἐγὼ δ' ἄ τάλαινα / προσέχουσ' ἔτυχον ἑμαυτῆς / ἔργοισι, λίνου μεστὸν ἄτρακτον / εἰεἰεἰλίσσουσα χερσὶν (possibly ———, a choriambic dimeter acephalous—well attested in Euripidean lyric, cf. Itsumi 1982, 63—with double division of the first two disemes) / κλωστήρα ποιοῦσ', ὅπως / κνεφαῖος εἰς ἀγορὰν / φέρουσ' ἀποδοίμαν, 'I, wretched me / was just busy with my work, / wi-i-i-inding with my hands / a spindle full of flax / to make a skein, in order / to take it before dawn / to the Agora and sell it' (transl. by A. Sommerstein). It must be noted that the manuscripts are at variance on the exact number of εἰ: in both the above passages I have followed the Ravenna ms. For the possibility that the parody in *Ra.* 1314 indicates the division of a diseme syllable between three syllables, cf. West 1992, 203 n. 29, 354.

36 Five other melismatic doublings have been posited by West at ll. 4-6 on the basis of the (likely) non-colometric reconstruction of its lineation (cf. *DAGM* p. 15); for some cautionary remarks see Giannini 2004.

37 On these examples see West 1980, 153-5; 1992, 200f. (with other, indeed more speculative, examples).

(VI) Perhaps, a more frequent recourse to protracted durations than in the past.³⁸ The anonymous author of the rhythmical treatise transmitted by *P. Oxy.* 9+2687³⁹ quotes some poetic examples to show that the --- *lexis* is sometimes rhythmized so that it becomes equivalent to a six-times foot (--- , --- or, less often, ---): this happens when one of the two long syllables is protracted to three times (--- , ---). The anonymous quotations come from poems which the ancient scholar seems to have heard performed. They exhibit stylistic and metrical features compatible with a dating to the late Classical or Hellenistic age:⁴⁰ in particular, the tendency towards homogeneous rhythms fits very well in the general trend which had characterized the *rhythmopoia* over the fourth century BC (see above § 1). However, it is reasonable to suppose that the iambo-trochaic series of the late Euripides already opened the way to this development, as it is suggested by the comparison between *Mel. adesp.* PMG 926e (preserved by *P. Oxy.* 9+2687) and, e.g., *Eur. Hel.* 166-251, where some ‘palimbacchei’ (---) interspersed with trochees should count as six-time feet ($\text{---} = \text{---}$: see esp. 174a --- , responding with 186a --- !).⁴¹

(VII) Finally, heterophonic instrumental accompaniment, that is “accompaniment in something other than simple unison or octaves with the melody” (Barker 1995, 49).⁴² This practice involved the rhythmical aspect too: while speaking of such an accompaniment, Plato (*Lg.* 812d-e) makes reference to ‘all kinds of elaboration of rhythm’ (*παντοδαπά ποιήματα*) fitted to the notes of the lyre and complains that what the instrumentalists play is different from

38 For protracted durations before the later fifth century BC see West 1982, 69, 104; Pöhlmann 1995.

39 Probably one of the so-called ‘unionists’ (*συμπλέκοντες*): cf. Aristid. Quint. 1.18 (38.15f. W.-I.), where the preceding exposition on rhythms is explicitly attributed to these scholars, who combined the Aristoxenian rhythmical theory to the study of metre (*οἱ μὲν οὖν συμπλέκοντες τῇ μετρικῇ θεωρίᾳ τὴν περὶ ῥυθμῶν τοιαύτην τινὰ πεποιήναι τὴν τεχνολογίαν*).

40 Cf. Wilamowitz 1898, 699 and Rossi 1988, 13. These fragments have been edited both by Powell as *Lyr. adesp.* frs 22-6, in his *Collectanea Alexandrina*, and by Page as *Mel. adesp.* PMG 926a-e, where they are dated to the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

41 For this comparison see Pearson 1990, 82. On the extended sections in trochaic rhythm in later Euripidean tragedies (from *Helen* onwards), cf. Dale 1967, 76 and 1968, 92f.; West 1982, 102-4; Lourenço 2012, 35f.

42 For a possible example see the Vienna papyrus G 2315 (*DAGM* 3), preserving *Eur. Or.* 338-44 provided with musical notation: the instrumental (*aulos*) notes placed between the words of the text were probably intended “to sound simultaneously with the following word, possibly continuing as a drone throughout the phrase” (West 1992, 206); see also Barker (1995, 47), who cogently argues for opening notes for an improvised heterophonic accompaniment.

the melody composed by the poets and, moreover, obscures it.⁴³ Plato's words imply that the responsibility for these complex melodic and rhythmical figures overlaid on the vocal melody falls on the accompanist himself. Even so, it is clear that the style of the New Music encouraged and called for such musical *poikilia*, and it is also known that the composers of the New Music were musicians themselves (e.g. Phrynis, Timotheus) or could resort to 'trusted' musicians for the performance of their songs (for example, Antigenidas of Thebes was the *aulos* player of Philoxenus, as is attested by *Suda* α 2657 Adler),⁴⁴ so that it is reasonable to expect that the accompaniment was not completely out of their control, though it seems not to have been composed by them together with the vocal melody.

The practice of *heterophonia* constitutes by no means an innovation introduced towards the second half of the fifth century BC, since it is already presupposed by the above quoted Pratinas fragment and its invention is attributed by Ps.-Plutarch—on the basis of his sources—to archaic figures such as the *aulos* player Olympus (*Mus.* 1137b-d) and Archilochus (1141b).⁴⁵ The same Aristoxenian fragment (*ap.* [Plut.] *Mus.* 1138b-c) quoted above spoke of quite complicated patterns of instrumental idiom employed by older composers (τὰ περὶ τὰς κρουσματικάς δὲ διαλέκτους τότε ποικιλώτερά ἦν). Therefore, the contribution of the New Music to this practice probably lies in an increase of melodic and rhythmical complexity.

3 Aristophanes, Agathon, and the κρούματα παράρρυθμ' εὐρυθμα (*Th.* 120-2)

Other practices of rhythmical variation seem to be hinted at by two interesting passages, whose interpretation, however, poses some difficulties. The first comes from comedy, namely from the beginning of Aristophanes' *Women at*

43 This aspect has been investigated by Andrisano (1988/1989, 194-200) with reference to *Ar. Nu.* 969-72 (εἰ δέ τις αὐτῶν βωμολοχεύσαιτ' ἢ κάμψειεν τινα καμπήν / οἷας οἱ νῦν, τὰς κατὰ Φρύνιν ταύτας τὰς δυσκολοκάμπτους, / ἐπετρίβετο τυπτόμενος πολλὰς ὡς τὰς Μούσας ἀφανίζων, 'and if any of them played the clown or introduced some convolution such as the modern use, those annoying twists in the style of Phrynis, he was trashed hard and often for disfiguring the music'; transl. by A. Sommerstein).

44 Ἀντιγενίδης, Σατύρου, Θηβαίος, μουσικός, αὐλῶδός Φιλοξένου. οὗτος ὑποδήμασι Μιλησίοις πρῶτος ἐχρήσατο καὶ κροκῶτον ἐν τῷ Κωμαστῇ περιεβάλλετο ἱμάτιον. ἔγραψε μέλη. Notice that αὐλῶδός is a mistake for αὐλητής: cf. e.g. *Anaxandr. fr.* 42.16 K.-A.; *Phot.* α 2082 *Theodoridis*.

45 Cf. Barker 1984, 235 n. 186 and 1995, 45; West 1992, 205f. On Pratinas' fragment see also below 86-8.

the Thesmophoria. After a funny dialogue between Euripides, his father-in-law and the Servant of Agathon, the tragedian Agathon enters the scene singing a hymn, firstly addressed to Demeter and Persephone and subsequently to Apollo, Artemis and Leto (101-29).⁴⁶

Ἰερὰν Χθονίαιν δεξάμεναι
λαμπάδα, κοῦραι, ξὺν ἐλευθέρᾳ
πραπίδι χορεύσασθε βοάν.—
Τίνι δαιμόνων ὁ κῶμος;
λέγε νιν. εὐπίστως δὲ τοῦμόν
δαίμονας ἔχει σεβίσαι.— 105
Ἄγετ' ὦ κλήζετε, Μοῦσαι,
χρυσέων ῥύτορα τόξων
Φοῖβον, ὃς ἰδρύσατο χώρας
γύαλα Σιμουντίδι γᾶ.— 110
Χαίρε καλλίσταις ἀοιδαῖς,
Φοῖβ', ἐν εὐμούσοισι τιμαῖς
γέρας ἱερὸν προφέρων.—
Τάν τ' ἐν ὄρεσι δρυογόνοισιν
κόραν αἰείσατ' Ἄρτεμιν ἀγροτέραν. 115
ἔπομαι κλήζουσα σεμνὰν
γόνον ὀλβίζουσα Λατοῦς,
Ἄρτεμιν ἀπειρολεχῇ.—
Λατῶ τε κρούματά τ' Ἀσιάδος ποδὶ
παράρυθμ' εὐρυθμα, Φρυγίων 120
διανεύματα Χαρίτων.—
Σέβομαι Λατῶ τ' ἄνασσαν
κίθαρὶν τε ματέρ' ὕμνων
ἄρσενι βοᾷ δοκίμων.—
Τᾷ φάος ἔσσυτο δαιμονίοις 125
ὄμμασιν, ἀμετέρας τε δι' αἰφνιδί-
ου ὀπός. ὦν χάριν
ἄνακτ' ἄγαλλε Φοῖβον.—
Χαῖρ', ὀλβιε παῖ Λατοῦς.

[as leader]

Maidens, receive the torch of the Nether Twain
and in your freedom dance with ancestral cries!

46 For the Greek text I follow the edition by Prato (2001).

[*as Chorus*]

For which deity hold we our revel?

O say! I'm a very soft touch
when it comes to adoring the gods.

[*as leader*]

Come now, Muses, venerate
him who draws arrows golden,
Phoebes, who based our country's vales
in the land of the Simons.

[*as Chorus*]

Take joy in our song most fair,
Phoebus, the first to accept the holy gift
of our musical tribute.

[*as leader*]

Hymn too the maiden born
in the oak-engendering mountains,
Artemis of the wild.

[*as Chorus*]

In turn I invoke in praise
the holy spawn of Leto,
Artemis untried in bed!

[*as leader*]

Yes Leto, and the chords of the Asian lyre,
beating nicely against the beat,
signals of the Phrygian Graces.⁴⁷

[*as Chorus*]

I venerate Lady Leto
and the kithara, mother of hymns,
renowned for its masculine clangor.

[*as leader*]

Because of thee, kithara, and by virtue
of thy startling vociferation
did the light of joy whisk

47 I have modified Henderson's translation here to make it correspond with the Greek text I have followed (see previous note), where the ms. reading διανεύματα is accepted. (Henderson follows the different *divisio verborum* proposed by Fritzsche.) For 'Charites' used methonymically to denote 'music', cf. Furley—Bremer 2001, 2.30 and 345; a reference to music has been assumed by ancient commentators too (cf. *schol. vet. Th.* 121 Regtuit, quoted beneath n. 80).

from the eyes of the gods.
Wherefore glorify Lord Phoibos!
[as Chorus]
Hail, happy scion of Leto!⁴⁸

The song exhibits all the formal features of a traditional hymn, including the antiphonal pattern—even if it is likely that the actor impersonating Agathon took the part alternately of the Chorus-leader and the Chorus of maiden.⁴⁹ The linguistic register employed is typical of a hymn; nonetheless, some stylistic traits should have recalled the exquisite manner of Agathon,⁵⁰ described by his Servant as a man ‘of the lovely language’ (49, ὁ καλλιεπὴς Ἀγάθων):⁵¹ for example, refined and convoluted periphrases such as χρυσέων ῥύτορα τόξων (108) or κίθαρίν τε ματέρ’ ὕμνων ἄρσενι βοᾷ δοκίμων (124f.), rare terms (e.g. κίθαρις at 124) and the great variety of hymnic speech-act verbs in few lines (ἀγάλλω, ὀλβίζω, κλήζω, ἀείδω).⁵²

But, as is generally recognized,⁵³ it was no doubt the metre, predominantly Ionic, and the music, vividly compared to ant-tracks (100),⁵⁴ which conveyed the erotic and titillating effects generally associated by ancient sources with Agathon’s lyrics (see *TrGF* 39 TT 19f.). The reaction of Mnesilochus to the performance is particularly telling (130-3):

48 Transl. by J. Henderson. Unless otherwise stated, all the following translations from Aristophanes are by Henderson (in Henderson 2000).

49 This is suggested by the ancient scholion to this passage, whose content is accepted by many modern scholars: cf. e.g. Mazon 1904, 127f.; Zimmermann 1985, 22-9: 24; Sommerstein 1994, 164; Furley-Bremer 2001, 1.353 n. 26; Prato 2001, 169; Austin-Olson 2004, 86f.; Mastromarco-Totaro 2006, 449 n. 17.

50 On this aspect cf. Furley-Bremer 2001, 1.353; Prato 2001, 168f.; Willi 2006, 26, 48; Nieddu 2008/2009, 247-9.

51 See also *Th.* 52-6 and cf. *TrGF* 39 T 16.

52 As Willi (2006, 48) observes, “the great variety of hymnic speech act verbs in Agathon’s hymn may be a parody of his style, just as the proclamation of εὐφημία by his servant contrasts with the common formulae and foreshadows the appearance of the exalted poetaster”.

53 At least from Guglielmino (1928, 80) and Rau (1967, 108) onwards. Lastly, see Nieddu 2008/2009, 245f., with further references.

54 While Agathon is going to sing his own song, Euripides’ Inlaw asks: μύρμηκος ἀτραπούς ἢ τί διαμινυρίζεται; The reference is to “the intricate running backwards and forwards of the notes of Agathon’s composition” (Barker 1984, 109 n. 39; see also West 1992, 354; Sommerstein 1994, 164; Prato 2001, 167f.).

ὥς ἡδὺ τὸ μέλος, ὦ πότνια Γενετυλλίδες,
καὶ θηλυδριῶδες καὶ κατεγλωττισμένον
καὶ μανδαλωτόν, ὥστ' ἐμοῦ γ' ἀκρωμένον
ὑπὸ τὴν ἔδραν αὐτὴν ὑπῆλθε γάργαλος.

130

Holy Genetyllides, what a pretty song! How feministic and tongue-gagged and deep-kissed! Just hearing it brought a tingle to my very butt!

The association of the Ionic metre with the Eastern—particularly Lydian and Persian—luxury and with effeminacy is well known and does not deserve much comment.⁵⁵ The passage which is of interest here comes from the second half of the hymn (120-2), where the Chorus-leader urges the maidens to celebrate

Λατῶ τε κρούματά τ' Ἀσιάδος ποδὶ
παράρρυθμ' εὐρυθμα, Φρυγίων
διανεύματα Χαρίτων.

The expression ποδὶ παράρρυθμ' εὐρυθμα is taken by the majority of scholars as an oxymoron. Sommerstein (1994, 31), for example, translates 'the strains of the Asian lute, out / of time and in time to your step', Del Corno (Prato-Del Corno 2001, 21) 'i toni d'Asia di ritmo / contrario armonioso', Mastromarco-Totaro (2006, 451) 'i tocchi della cetra d'Asia che discordano e concordano con il ritmo del piede'.⁵⁶ Similarly, Austin and Olson interpret 'keeping time with the dance against the rhythm' (2004, 94), connecting the dative ποδὶ only with εὐρυθμα. Slightly different is the above quoted translation by Henderson (2000, 473): 'the chords of the Asian strings beating nicely against the beat'.

Leaving aside the small divergences, all the scholars quoted above understand παράρρυθμα as implying something which is 'against the rhythm', 'out of time'. They compare the adjective with the similar compound παραμελο-ρhythμοβάτης, used by Pratinas (*TrGF* 4 F 3.13)⁵⁷ with reference to the intricate accompaniment provided by the *aulos*: in this context, it is generally translated

55 It should suffice here to refer to Zimmermann 1988, 203 and Sommerstein 1994, 164.

56 See also Nieddu 2008/2009, 'note in discorde accordo con il ritmo della danza'.

57 This is Bergk's plausible correction for the mss -βαρυ(ο)παραμελο- (mss A and CE of Athenaeus, the witness of the fragment), implying a haplography of the syllable πα. Other restorations appear less likely: cf. Ziegler 1937, 1936f. n. 22.

as ‘going against melody and rhythm’⁵⁸ or ‘going out of melody and rhythm’.⁵⁹ More recently, Barker (1995, 55f.) has suggested a further possibility: “stepping in rhythm contrary to melody”. For the scholar, “Pratinas’ complaint would then be that the complex rhythmic figures (ποικίλαν πνοάν, 10) overlaid by the accompanist on the melody distort or obscure the melody’s shape and flow”. This interpretation does not seem to me “less natural” (so Anderson 1994, 87 n. 6) than the previous, since the close connection between βαίνειν and ῥυθμός within the compound finds support in the widespread Greek expression βαίνειν ἐν ῥυθμῷ, with reference to both march and dance (see e.g. Thuc. 5.70; Pl. *Lg.* 670b8–670c3; Sem. Del. *FGrHist* 396 F 24; [Longin.] *Subl.* 39.2; Luc. *Harm.* 1.1).⁶⁰ The same close relationship between *aulos* music and dance, which is an essentially rhythmic phenomenon, points in this direction: see 1, τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὅδε; τί τὰδε τὰ χορεύματα; and 6f. ὁ δ’ αὐλός / ὕστερον χορευέτω. Even though the references to dance in these lines were taken as purely metaphorical—as an implicit assimilation of the elaborate sounds of the *auloi* to excited dances⁶¹—it is nonetheless very clear that instrumental accompaniment and orchestric movements are strongly associated by the *persona canens*, obviously because of the rhythm that both the media share.

If this proposal hits the mark, παραμελορυθμοβάτης designates an accompaniment which is closely associated with dance but divergent from melody. The compound παράρυθμος, on the other hand, expresses divergence from rhythm. But what kind of divergence is implied? The answer may be found in Galen’s treatises about blood pressure, where the adjective refers to small irregularities of rhythm: the prefix παρα- does not imply opposition to the regular rhythm (‘against’), but proximity to it (‘near’). This meaning emerges quite clearly from

58 Cf. e.g. Barker 1984, 274 (‘its step that wrecks tune and rhythm’); West 1993, 176 (‘the out-of-tune/rhythm-step creature’); Anderson 1994, 87 (‘going counter to melody and rhythm’); Cipolla 2003, 45 (‘che va fuori tono e fuori tempo’). For a different interpretation see Campbell 1991, 323: ‘striding across melody and rhythm’ (followed by Csapo-Miller 2007, 183).

59 Cf. Ziegler 1937, 1936 (‘sie [*scil.* die Flöte] falle aus Melodie und Rhythmus”).

60 Cf. *DGE* 670 s.v. βαίνω 1.1; *GF* 474 s.v. 1.a; *LSJ*⁹ 802 s.v. A.I. Consider also the technical value (‘scan’) of βαίνειν in treatises and handbooks of metrics, on which see Ercoles 2015, 325f.

61 For this interpretation see Dale 1969, 39; Barker 1995, 55; Cipolla 2003, 54–7 (who also recalls Soph. fr. 828f Radt², παπαί, χορευτῆς αὐλός οὐκέτι ψοφεῖ). *Contra* Napolitano 2000, 114f. Though it is quite difficult to reach any certain conclusion, in the absence of the wider (textual and performative) context, the reference of the Chorus to their own dance in the following lines (2, ἐμὲ δεῖ κελαδεῖν, ἐμὲ δεῖ παταγεῖν ἄν’ ὄρεα σύμενον μετὰ Ναϊάδων, 15, ἦν ἰδοῦ· ἄδε σοι δεξιὰς καὶ ποδὸς διαρριφά) makes it likely that χορεύματα refer to actual dances of another Chorus.

the distinctions drawn in *Synopsis of his own books on pulses* (9.470 Kühn), in the wake of the Hellenistic physician Herophilus (fr. 175 von Staden):

ἐν δὲ τῷ παραβάλλειν τὸν χρόνον τῆς διαστολῆς τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς συστολῆς, ὡς Ἡρόφιλος ἤξiou, τὸ μὲν ὅτι παρὰ φύσιν ὁ κάμνων ἔχει δυνατόν ἐστι γνωσθῆναι, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ γε ὅτι μεγάλως παρὰ φύσιν ἢ μικρῶς. αἱ μὲν γὰρ μεγάλαι τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ρυθμῶν εἰς τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ἐκτροπαὶ μεγάλην σημαίνουνσι τὴν βλάβην, αἱ δ' ἥττους μικροτέραν. βραχεῖαν μὲν οὖν ἐκτροπὴν οἱ παράρρυθμοι δηλοῦσι σφυγμοί, μείζονα δὲ οἱ ἑτερόρρυθμοι, μεγίστην δὲ οἱ ἑκρυθμοί.⁶²

In comparing the time of the dilation <of the pulse> to the time of its contraction, as Herophilus required, it can be recognised that the sick person has a pulse-rate contrary to nature, and, in addition, that it is greatly or slightly contrary to nature. For great deviations from the natural rhythms into that which is contrary to nature indicate great harm, whereas lesser deviations indicate smaller harm. Pararhythmic pulses, then, reveal a small deviation, heterorhythmic a greater and ecrhythmic the greatest of all.⁶³

If one assumes that in Pratinas' fragment too the value of παρα- could have been the same, the *aulos* would 'step in rhythm' parallel to vocal melody, with small deviations from it.⁶⁴ Since, as has been noted, the role of the heterophonic accompaniment was "primarily associated with the articulation and emphasis of rhythm",⁶⁵ the close association between the instrument and the dance—conveyed by the image of the pipes' dances—makes perfect sense.

The situation is quite different in the Aristophanic passage from *Women at the Thesmophoria*, where the notes of the Asian *kithara* are said to be ποδὶ

62 See also Gal. 9.471, μέμνησθε γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν σφυγμῶν εἰρημένων, ἐκρυθμούς μὲν νομᾶζεσθαι σφυγμούς τοὺς μηδεμιάς ἡλικίας ἔχοντας ρυθμὸν, παραρhythμούς τοὺς πλησίον, ἑτερορhythμούς δὲ τοὺς ἑτέρας τινός, οὐ πλησίον.

63 Transl. by J. Longrigg (1998, 142).

64 The use of the prefix παρα- in the compound adjective παράφωνος points in the same direction (see Michaelides 1978, 238) and the distinction between compounds beginning with ἐκ- and with ἑτερο-, with reference to different degrees of irregularity in music, is attested for the classical age by Plato and Aristoxenus: see ἑτερόφωνος and ἑτεροφωνία in Pl. *Lg.* 812d-e (quoted above, § 1), ἐκμελής in Aristox. *El. harm.* 78.14-16 (συμβήσεται γὰρ μήτε τοὺς τετάρτους διὰ τεσσάρων συμφωνεῖν μήτε τοὺς πέμπτους διὰ πέντε· οἱ δὲ οὕτω κείμενοι τῶν φθόγων ἐκμελεῖς ἦσαν). On the opposition ἐκμελής/ἐκμελής in Aristoxenus (and Dionysius of Halicarnassus), see Rocconi 2008/2009, 185.

65 Barker 1995, 57. Besides the above observations on Pratinas' fragment, see [Arist.] *Pr.* 19.12 and 46, Sem. Del. *FGrHist* 396 F 11, with comments in Barker 1995, 56f. and Ercoles 2006, 340-4.

παράρρυθμ' εὔρυθμα. If the adjective παράρρυθμος were referring to rhythmic irregularities, the result would be that the stringed instrument deviates from the dance, which is nonsense, since dancers generally follow the rhythm beaten by the musical instrument providing the accompaniment (see, for example, in Pind. *P. 1.2*):⁶⁶ one would expect the opposite, that is the dance deviating from music.

Scholars generally accept such nonsense as a “deliberate verbal paradox”.⁶⁷ Sommerstein (1994, 166) recognised in this phrase three simultaneous parodic functions: 1) on a conceptual level, since the same thing is called both X and not-X;⁶⁸ 2) on a metrical level, since the oxymoron introduces the abrupt rhythmic transition from dactyls to iambs in the following lines (126-9), what “may well in fact have produced mismatches between the rhythm of the music and that of the dance”; 3) on a prosodic level, given that “the syllable *-rhythm-* is scanned first as a long, then as a short in successive words”.⁶⁹

Other scholars, however, have opted for a different interpretation of παράρρυθμα: ‘in rhythm’, ‘beating the rhythm’ (παρ- = ‘together’).⁷⁰ As recently pointed out by Tosi (2017, 15), this use of the adjective seems to find support in the Orphic *Hymn to the Kuretes*,⁷¹ where these mythical figures of dancers are represented in the following terms:

66 Pind. *P. 1.1-4*, Χρυσέα φόρμιγξ, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἰοπλοκάμων / σύνδικον Μοισᾶν κτέανον· τᾶς ἀκούει / μὲν βάσις ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά, / πείθονται δ' αἰδοὶ σάμασιν / ἀγρησιχόρων ὅπότεαν προοιμίων / ἀμβολὰς τεύχης ἐλελιζόμενα (‘Golden Lyre, rightful possession of Apollo and the violet-haired / Muses, to you the footstep listens / as it begins the splendid celebration, / and the singers heed your signals, / whenever with your vibrations you strike up / the chorus-leading preludes’, transl. by W. Race). Note that even in Pratinas’ fragment, if the above interpretation hits the mark, *aulos* and dance follow the same rhythm, which deviates from that of the song.

67 Austin-Olson 2004, 94. This position is shared, among others, by Zimmermann (1988, 202), Sommerstein (1994, 166), Prato (2001, 174) and Nieddu (2008/2009, 248).

68 As Sommerstein observes, this rhetorical figure was “a favourite with Euripides (e.g. *Alc.* 521, *IT* 512, *Ph.* 272, *Or.* 904; cf. *Ar. Ach.* 396, *Pl. com. fr.* 182.3) and may have been one with Agathon too”.

69 Note, however, that it is equally possible to scan the syllable *-rhythm-* as long in both cases: the result is a metrical *colon* composed of a ionic *a minore* and a resolved trochaic metron (~~~~~).

70 Cf. lastly Tosi 2017, 15, and see e.g. the translations by Coulon-Van Daele 1946, 23 (‘et les sons de l’instrument asiatique, dont la cadence accentue le rythme des pieds’), Paduano 1983, 89 (‘i suoni della cetra asiatica, in accordo col battito dei piedi’), Barker 1984, 110 (‘and the playing of the Asian *kithara*, with Phrygian-dancing feet to the well-rhythmed whirlings of the Graces’).

71 On the collection of the Orphic Hymns and its debated chronology, see Ricciardelli 2000, XXXf. The scholar is inclined to date the collection between the second and the third centuries AD.

Σκιρτηταὶ Κουρήτες, ἐνόπλια βήματα θέντες,
 ποσσίκροτοι, ῥομβηταί, ὀρέστεροι, εὐαστήρες,
 κρουσιλύραι, παράρυθοι, ἐπεμβάται ἔχνεσι κούφοις,
 ὀπλοφόροι φύλακες, κοσμήτορες, ἀγλαόφημοι,
 μητρὸς ὀρειομανοῦς συνοπάονες, ὀργιοφάνται·
 ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέοντες ἐπ' εὐφήμοισι λόγοισι,
 βουκόλῳ εὐάντητοι αἰεὶ κεχαρηότι θυμῷ.

5

Leaping Kuretes, armed marchers,
 striking with the feet, whirling, mountain-dwelling, crying *euai*
 lyre-striking, following the rhythm, walking on light feet,
 armor-bearing watchguards, commanders, men of splendid fame,
 companions of Mountain Mother, initiators,
 Come, benevolent ones, upon holy words,
 with eternally cheerful soul, affable to the cowherd.

5

In this long series of epithets, it is interesting to observe that παράρυθοι immediately follows κρουσιλύραι (3): this association seems to imply that the agile (3, ἔχνεσι κούφοις) and well-rhythmed paces of the Kuretes were accompanied by a stringed instrument beating time. The reference is in all probability to the Dictaeon hymn from Palaikastro [CA 160-2]⁷² and Call. *Iov.* 52-4)—a kind of performance not dissimilar to that implied by Agathon's hymn, where, however, no war-dance is involved, but a different kind of ritual dance.⁷³ In this light, the passage might be translated as follows:

Celebrate Leto and the strokes of the Asian *kithara*
 lilting (εὐρυθμα), in rhythm with the foot (ποδὶ παράρυθμα),⁷⁴
 signals of the Phrygian Graces.

⁷² On this hymn cf. Furley-Bremer 2001, 1.350-4, 2.340-6.

⁷³ Since march is involved, it appears most unlikely that in this context the adjective παράρυθοι could mean anything but 'in rhythm': marching requires an exact rhythmic accompaniment. *Contra* Rudhardt (1991, 269: 'vous faites résonner votre lyre sur des rythmes irrégulier') and Athanassakis-Wolkow (2013, 103, 'discordant is the lyre you strike').

⁷⁴ I take the word ποῦς, 'foot', as referring to the dance movements (cf. *Th.* 985, ἀνάστρεφ' εὐρύθμῳ ποδί). Prato (2001, 174) thinks that in this context the value 'metrical foot' is preferable (cf. *Ar. Ra.* 1323), since he reads the passage as implying that the music of the *kithara* makes perfectly rhythmical (εὐρυθμα) what is 'out of rhythm' (παράρυθμα) from a metrical point of view.

Such an interpretation makes the expression ποδὶ παράρυθμ' εὔρυθμα more consistent with the general character and tone of the song, which is serious, sometimes affected, but "not evidently parodistic; there is nothing transparently funny in the language".⁷⁵ In this respect, an overtly nonsensical expression such as 'out of time and in time to dance steps' would be unparalleled in the hymn. Aristophanes' intent here seems to be quite different from that governing, for instance, Cinesias' presentation in *Birds* (1372-1409).⁷⁶

Indeed, a clear parodic intent is recognizable in the contrast between the serious style and content of the song, on the one hand, and the effeminacy of Agathon's outfit and the sensuality of his music, on the other.⁷⁷ This is quite clearly suggested by the same reaction of Mnesilochus to the song (130-45). He characterizes the song as 'feministic and tongue-gagged and deep-kissed' (131-2), then goes on to describe the composer himself in these terms (136-40):

ποδαπὸς ὁ γύννης; τίς πάτρα; τίς ἢ στολή;
 τίς ἢ τάραξις τοῦ βίου; τί βάρβιτος
 λαλεῖ κροκωτῶ; τί δὲ δορὰ κεκρυφάλῳ;
 τί λήκυθος καὶ στρόφιον; ὥς οὐ ξύμφορα.
 τίς δαὶ κατόπτρου καὶ ξίφους κοινωνία;

whence come you, girlish lad? What is your country? What is this array?
 What reshuffling of life is this? Why is a *barbitos* chatting to saffron robe?
 Why a *lyra* with hair-net? Why an oil-flask and a girdle? They just don't go
 together. What's a mirror doing with a sword?

transl. A. BARKER

It should therefore be irresistibly comic for the audience to see Agathon on the stage wearing feminine clothes and, probably, singing in a feminine register to the accompaniment of a *barbytos*,⁷⁸ while delivering the words 'I honour Leto the queen, and the *kitharis*, mother of hymns, with a splendid masculine cry' (122-4, σέβομαι Λατῶ τ' ἄνασσαν / κίθαριν τε ματέρ' ὕμνων / ἄρσενι βοᾷ δοκίμων).

⁷⁵ Furley-Bremer 2001, 1.353.

⁷⁶ On the stylistic and lexical aspects of parody in this passage, see Dunbar 1995, 660-4, *passim*, and Mastromarco-Totaro 2006, 262-5 nn. 289 and 291.

⁷⁷ This position is widely accepted by scholars after Rau (1967, 108, *passim*). More recently, see Nieddu 2008/2009, 246 (who, however, points out some possible parodic elements in style and language) and Tosi 2017, 15 (who underlines the strong contrast between the serious hymn and the sensuous figure of Agathon).

⁷⁸ I owe the suggestion that the performance could be really accompanied by the *barbitos* to T.J. Moore.

This contrast is prominent in the text, while there seems to be no point in rhythmic irregularity here: one would expect some explicit reaction to it too, as happens with Cinesias at *Birds* 1379, where he is ironically represented as ‘circling his club-foot’, or with Euripides at *Frogs* 1323-4, where there’s a clear pun on the term ‘foot’, referring both to an (abnormal) rhythmical foot and to a (wildly exaggerated) dance-movement.⁷⁹

If the above arguments hold, these lines give us no information about supposed rhythmic irregularities in Agathon’s lyrics and the whole passage points to other aspects of the musical style of this playwright, such as the soft character and the sensual fascination of his songs and—if we can trust the ancient scholion on *Th.* 121⁸⁰—the use of the Phrygian *harmonia*.

4 Timotheus of Miletus: Metres and Rhythms on Eleven Strings (*PMG* 791.229-33)

The second passage to be considered comes from the *sphragis* or ‘seal’ of the *Persae*, the best preserved kitharodic *nomos* composed by Timotheus of Miletus, the most representative exponent of the New Music.

Programmatic assertions are not sparse in Timotheus’ lines, particularly in his ‘seals’. In that of the *Persae*, the composer boasts that, after Orpheus and Terpander, he was able to make the kitharodic art fully spring up ‘by means of eleven-stringed metres and rhythms, opening the many-songed chambered treasury of the Muse’ (*PMG* 791.229-33, transl. J. Hordern):⁸¹

νῦν δὲ Τιμόθεος μέτροις
 ῥυθμοῖς τ’ ἑνδεκακρουμάτοις
 κίθαριν ἐξανατέλλει,
 θησαυρὸν πολύμυνον οἷ-
 ξας Μουσᾶν θαλαμευτόν.

230

The distinction between metres (μέτρα) and rhythms (ῥυθμοί) has been explained in two different ways. In his commentary to the poem, Hordern (2002,

79 See above § 2.

80 *Schol. vet. Ar. Th.* 121 Regtuit, ποδί–Φρυγίων] τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἁρμονίᾳ ἡρμοσμένα. Zimmermann (1988, 203) observes that the use of the Phrygian *harmonia* is also suggested by the excited reaction of Mnesilochus to the song.

81 P. 233, ‘and now Timotheus renews the kithara with eleven-stringed metres and rhythms, opening the many-songed chambered treasury of the Muse; it is Miletus that nurtured him, the city of a twelve-walled people, first among the Achaeans’.

243f.) follows Dover (1968, 178 on Ar. *Nu.* 638) in thinking that the difference is “best explained by saying that an iambic tetrameter and trochaic tetrameter differ $\rho\upsilon\theta\mu\hat{\omega}$ but not $\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$, whereas an iambic trimeter and an iambic tetrameter differ $\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ but not $\rho\upsilon\theta\mu\hat{\omega}$ ”. Alternatively, Gentili (1988a, 29f.) and Comotti (1991, 38) have seen in Timotheus’ words “the first clear testimony to the divorce between metrics and music. The metrical scheme of the verse no longer constitutes, as it did in the past, the rhythmical basis for musical performance”.⁸² This interpretation entails a relevant consequence: from the later fifth century BC onwards the poetic text became nothing else than “a libretto for the music”. According to this approach, the rhythmical *poikilia* practiced by Timotheus was seriously disrupting the metrical design of the words.

Here I would like to suggest a third possibility, which is more consistent with the meaning the word $\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ normally had, in Classical Athens, with reference to poems: in Aristophanes, Plato and Aristotle it stands as a general term for verses regularly built by the repetition of the same dipody and normally used in stichic sequence, such as the iambic trimeter, the trochaic tetrameter and the dactylic hexameter.⁸³ In at least one passage, which is clearly influenced by Damonian theory, $\rho\upsilon\theta\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (in the plural form) is employed beside $\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha$ to cover verses with freer metrical structure, made up of metrical *cola*, that is musical phrases of varying length, with the possibility of a predominant rhythm or multifarious rhythms blended together. This is the case with the funny scene of metrical teaching in Aristophanes’ *Clouds* (635-54), where Socrates tries to explain this rather technical matter to Strepsiades.

The first topic of the lesson is $\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha$, exemplified by trimeters (in all probability iambic trimeters) and tetrameters (arguably trochaic tetrameters), while the second topic is $\rho\upsilon\theta\mu\acute{o}\iota$, verses of enhoplion and dactylic kind (651, $\kappa\alpha\tau’\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\pi\lambda\iota\omicron\nu\ \dots\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \delta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$). Enhoplion, or prosodiac, is the name of a metrical sequence or *colon* (often in the form $\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim$) which was widespread in melic poetry, for example in Stesichorus, Pindar and Bacchylides: it was a composite rhythm, therefore indivisible into identical dipodies,⁸⁴ and normally used in association with other *cola*, not in stichic sequence. Consequently,

82 Gentili 1988a, 29f. = 2006, 54. See also Gentili 1988b, 10.

83 Cf. Ar. *Nu.* 635-67; Pl. *Lg.* 669d, 809b, 810b, 810e ($\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \mu\eta\nu\ \delta\tau\iota\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \delta\eta\ \tau\omega\nu\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu\ \acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega\nu$), 886c, *Lj.* 205a, *Phlb.* 17d (an uncertain instance), *Sph.* 237a, *Smp.* 187d, 205c; Arist. *Po.* 1447b17-22, 1448b21, 1449b30-36, 1451b2-4 and 28, 1459b32-1460a2, *Rh.* 1408b32-1409a1. On this meaning of $\acute{\mu}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha$, cf. Else 1957, 56f., with further references; Lucas 1968, 61. See also Russell-Winterbottom 1972, 91 n. 5 (“later in the *Poetics* ‘verse’ is used to refer to the dialogue scenes in tragedy as distinct from the choral ‘songs’”).

84 Cf. Gentili 1978, 26f.; Pretagostini 1979, 122 with n. 16; Barker 1984, 134 n. 36.

the distinction of verses in this rhythm from μέτρα is quite clear. In this light, it is rather unlikely that κατὰ δάκτυλον verses could mean stichic hexameters: it is more reasonable to think of melic sequences of dactyls of varying extension.⁸⁵

A similar use of ῥυθμός seems to be detectable also in [Plut.] *Mus.* 1140f-1141b, a later passage, but deriving from previous rhythmical theory.⁸⁶ Here Archilochus is said to have introduced ‘the rhythmicizing of trimeters and the extension into rhythms that are not of the same type’ (Ἀρχίλοχος τὴν τῶν τριμέτρων ῥυθμοποιίαν προσεξεύρε καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμογενεῖς ῥυθμοὺς ἔντασιν),⁸⁷ which refers in all probability to the iambic trimeters and the epodic structures coupling an iambic trimeter with an asynartetic verse (cf. e.g. fr. 196a W.², where an iambic trimeter is followed by the association of a masculine *hemiepes* and an iambic dimeter) used by the poet.⁸⁸ In this context, ῥυθμοί seems to designate metrical *cola* of different rhythm (such as the above cited *hemiepes* and iambic dimeter) and the regular pattern of the iambic trimeter (a particular kind of μέτρον) seems to be contrasted with the irregular structure of the asynartetic combination of such *cola*.

A polar pair of the same kind is that contrasting μέτρα and μέλη,⁸⁹ where the second term refers to (generally choral) songs in opposition to a spoken section in stichic lines (generally iambic trimeters) and, therefore, performs the same role of ῥυθμοί. This usage is surely attested by the Aristotelian *corpus*⁹⁰ and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, but also, I suggest, by Plato:

Pl. *Smp.* 187d, ‘But when it is a case of employing rhythm and harmony in real life, either when creating new music, that is to say in composition, or when making correct use of songs and verses that already exist (τοῖς

85 One might recall what the lexicon *Suda* (α 1289 Adler) says about Alcman, who frequently used dactylic lines (mainly tetrameters): πρῶτος δὲ εἰσήγαγε τὸ μὴ ἑξαμέτροις μελωδεῖν.

86 Cf. Gentili 1978, 18 n. 19; Comotti 1983, esp. 95f.

87 Transl. by T. Moore (2010, 155). On the sense of this passage, see Lasserre 1954, 171; Gostoli 1982/1983; Comotti 1983; Barker 1984, 234f.; Moore 2010, 155f.

88 Following Weil and Reinach (1900, 107), I assume that the preceding genitive τῶν τριμέτρων is implied in the expression τὴν εἰς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμογενεῖς ῥυθμοὺς ἔντασιν. Compare the following expression ἢ [*scil.* ἔντασις] τοῦ ἠϋξημένου ἡρώου εἰς τε τὸ προσοδιακὸν καὶ τὸ κρητικόν (1141a), where the genitive is necessarily expressed since the iambic trimeter is mentioned in the previous sentence. For a slightly different interpretation, which does not imply any genitive depending on ἔντασις, cf. Gostoli 1982/1983, 27f., (“l’idea [è quella] dello stendere in successione, su una medesima linea, *cola* di valore ritmico differente”); Comotti 1983, 95 (who thinks of the “aggiunta di ritmi di genere pari a sequenze di genere doppio e viceversa”); Barker 1984, 234 (who translates ‘combinations of rhythms of different genera’).

89 On this pair, see Psaroudakēs 1996. Consider also the pair ἔπη (‘spoken verses’)/μέλη (‘songs’) in Ar. *Ra.* 862: cf. Dover 1993, 300; Mastromarco-Totaro 2006, 643 n. 134.

90 On the opposition μέτρα/μέλη in Aristotle’s *Poetics* see Else 1957, 65-7; Lucas 1968, 61.

πεπονημένοις μέλεσι τε καὶ μέτροις), that is to say in education, at this point difficulties arise and there is need of a skilful practitioner’;⁹¹

Arist. *Po.* 1449b28-31, ‘By ‘garnished’ language I mean with rhythm and melody; and by the ‘various forms’ I mean that some parts use spoken metre (διὰ μέτρων), and others use lyric song (διὰ μέλους)’;⁹²

[Arist.] *Pr.* 19.31 (920a11-13), ‘Why were Phrynichus and his school song-writers first and foremost? Is it because in those days there were many times more songs (τὰ μέλη) than spoken lines (τῶν μέτρων) in tragedies?’;⁹³

Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 19.2-4 Aujac—Lebel, ‘Writers in metre and in lyric measures (τὰ μέτρα καὶ τὰ μέλη) cannot introduce change everywhere; or rather, I should say, cannot all introduce change, and none as much as they wish. For instance, epic writers cannot vary their verse (μέτρον), for all the lines must necessarily be hexameters [...]. The writers of lyric verses (τὰ μέλη) cannot vary the melodies of strophe and antistrophe [...]. Nor, again, must the rhythms be changed in which the entire strophes and antistrophes are written, but these too must remain unaltered’.⁹⁴

In light of this opposition between verses built by the same number of identical metrical units (μέτρα) and verses with a less uniform metrical pattern and variable length (ῥυθμοί/μέλη), it is possible to assume that Timotheus’ expression μέτροις ῥυθμοῖς τ’ ἑνδεκακρουμάτοις respectively refers to the dactylic hexameters of the proemial section of the *Persae*⁹⁵ and to the freer verses of the

91 ἐπειδὴν δέη πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καταχρησθαι ῥυθμῷ τε καὶ ἀρμονίᾳ ἢ ποιοῦντα, ὃ δὴ μελοποιῶν καλοῦσιν, ἢ χρώμενον ὁρθῶς τοῖς πεπονημένοις μέλεσι τε καὶ μέτροις, ὃ δὴ παιδεία ἐκλήθη, ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν δημιουργοῦ δεῖ. Transl. by M.C. Howatson (2008, 20), with one adjustment: the expression τοῖς πεπονημένοις μέλεσι τε καὶ μέτροις is translated ‘tunes and metres that already exist’, but I have preferred to make more explicit that μέλη include poetic words.

92 λέγω δὲ ἡδυσμένον μὲν λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ῥυθμὸν καὶ ἀρμονίαν [καὶ μέλος], τὸ δὲ χωρὶς τοῖς εἴδεσι τὸ διὰ μέτρων ἕναι μόνον περαίνεσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἕτερα διὰ μέλους. Transl. by S. Halliwell (1987, 37).

93 διὰ τί οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον ἦσαν μᾶλλον μελοποιοί; ἢ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ πλάσια εἶναι τότε τὰ μέλη ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις τῶν μέτρων. Transl. by A. Barker (1984, 198).

94 τοῖς μὲν οὖν τὰ μέτρα καὶ τὰ μέλη γράφουσιν οὐχ ἅπαντα ἔξεστι μεταβάλλειν ἢ οὐχ ἅπανιν οὐδ’ ἐφ’ ὅσον βούλονται. αὐτίκα τοῖς μὲν ἐποποιοῖς μέτρον οὐκ ἔξεστι μεταβάλλειν, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη πάντας εἶναι τοὺς στίχους ἑξαμέτρους ... τοῖς δὲ τὰ μέλη γράφουσιν τὸ μὲν τῶν στροφῶν τε καὶ ἀντιστροφῶν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀλλάξει μέλος ... οὐδὲ γε τοὺς περιέχοντας ὅλας τὰς στροφὰς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀντιστροφάς, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ τούτους τοὺς αὐτοὺς διαμένειν. Transl. by W. Rhys Roberts (1910, 193 and 195), with few adjustments.

95 Cf. *PMG* 788, κλεινὸν ἐλευθερίας τεύχων μέγαν Ἑλλάδι κόσμον. By ‘proemial section’ I mean all of the section preceding the narrative part of a kitharodic *nomos* (ὁμφαλός), that is to

following sections (ὁμφαλός, σφραγίς, ἐπίλογος),⁹⁶ which were described by the grammarian Hephaestion as ‘lacking defined metre’⁹⁷—let us observe that the term μέτρα precedes ῥυθμοί: if I am right, the word order is not due to chance, but reflects the general structure of the *nomos* (proemial section plus narrative and conclusive sections). It is also worth noting that such a division based on verse construction can be found again in Proclus’ account of the historical development of kitharodic *nomos* (*ap. Phot. Bibl.* 320b8–11): he says that Phrynis, who was an immediate forerunner of Timotheus, ‘attached hexameter to free verse’.⁹⁸

As Power (2010, 242) has observed, the metrical mixture introduced by Phrynis “prefigures the mixing of *epē* and dithyrambic diction practiced by Timotheus”, which is attested by Ps.-Plutarch (*Mus.* 4.1132e):

Timotheus provides evidence of the fact that the ancient kitharodic *nomoi* were composed in epic verses (ἐπη): he sang his earliest *nomoi* in epic verses, while mixing into them the diction of the dithyramb (διθυραμβικὴν λέξιν),⁹⁹ thus ensuring that he would not be in obvious and immediate breach of the rules of ancient music.¹⁰⁰

Therefore, by speaking of verses κατὰ μέτρον and free verses accompanied by the eleven-stinged *kithara* the author of the *Persae* probably intended to emphasize two aspects of his art: the association of *epē* and free verses within the kitharodic *nomos* (in the manner of Phrynis) and the adoption of an intricate musical accompaniment.¹⁰¹ Perhaps, in the later stage of his career, Timotheus completely abandoned hexameters in his *nomoi*, as is implied by

say: ἀρχά, μεταρχά, κατατροπά, μετακατατροπά (cf. Poll. 4.66 and Comotti 1991, 19; West 1992, 215).

96 Cf. *PMG* 789–91, characterized by iambo-trochaic, cretic, aeolic, dactylic and dochmiac *cola* (note that all the rhythmic genera are represented).

97 *Poem.* 3.3 (64f. Consbruch), ἄνευ μέτρου ὠρισμένου (see also above n. 3).

98 Φρύνις δὲ ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐκαινοτόμησεν αὐτόν· τό τε γὰρ ἐξάμετρον τῷ λελυμένῳ συνήψε καὶ χορδαῖς τῶν ζ' πλείοσιν ἐχρήσατο. Τιμόθεος δὲ ὕστερον εἰς τὴν νῦν αὐτόν ἤγαγε τάξιν. On this passage and its implications, see Power 2010, 242.

99 I consider λέξις to include here the metrical aspect too.

100 ὅτι δ' οἱ κιθαρωδικοὶ νόμοι οἱ πάλοι ἐξ ἐπῶν συνίσταντο, Τιμόθεος ἐδήλωσε· τοὺς γοῦν πρώτους νόμους ἐν ἔπεισι διαμιγνύων διθυραμβικὴν λέξιν ᾗδεν, ὅπως μὴ εὐθὺς φανῇ παρανομῶν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν μουσικὴν. Transl. by A. Barker (1984, 209).

101 For this interpretation of the the adjective ἐνδεκαχρουμάτοις (‘with eleven notes’) see, e.g., Barker 1984, 96 n. 17, 97; West 1992, 362; Hordern 2002, 244. For a different interpretation (‘with eleven-struck’, “that is, with meters and rhythms that bring cheers of approval”), see LeVen 2011, esp. 252.

the Ps.-Plutarchan passage; there is, however, no direct proof of this development in his preserved fragments, so that this is currently bound to remain a mere inference.

From this perspective, the defensive strategy of Timotheus is perhaps clearer: replying to the charge of disrespect for the older Muse in his new compositions, he shows in his *sphragis* that *poikilia* was a characteristic of kitharodic music since its beginnings (Orpheus) and that his style is a combination of traditional and new elements, such as the styles of Orpheus and Terpander were (*PMG* 791.221-33).

5 Some Conclusive Remarks. New Music: New Rhythms?

All in all, the different pieces of evidence considered above appear to be consistent with each other and allow us to reconstruct a quite coherent picture of the exploitation of rhythmical resources by New Musicians. These seem to have taken over from previous composers and further developed some peculiar rhythmical features (see above § 2), which gave them the chance to make their music more varied and expressive, or even mimetic (such as is the case with Euripides' melismatic treatment of the verb *heilissō*).

None of the features appears to be authentically new, even though warbles are not so surely attested before the season of New Music as one could desire. The historical accounts of the development of *rhythmopoia* in ancient Greek music (§ 1) show that rhythmical complexity (*poikilia*), both in vocal melody and in instrumental accompaniment, was sought by the older composers too, and this is confirmed by the instances of free form, polymetry, resolutions, protracted durations and abnormal feet in late archaic (sometimes even archaic) melic poetry and by Pindar's claims of musical complexity.¹⁰²

Therefore, the actual 'novelty' of the style of the New Music in the matter of rhythms seems to lie in a more consistent use of these individual features and in their combination within the same song.¹⁰³ This does not amount so much to a 'revolution' in rhythms as to a different use of traditional elements

¹⁰² On the Pindaric claims, see Barker 1995, 41-4.

¹⁰³ Quite different is the fate of harmonic *poikilia*: both Aristoxenus (*ap.* [Plut.] *Mus.* 1138b-c) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Comp.* 19.7) attest to an increasing interest in the melodic aspect over the Classical age and, together with other testimonies (e.g. Pherecr. fr. 155 K.-A., *Ar. Nu.* 333 with schol., 969f., *Eup.* fr. 366 K.-A., *Antiph.* fr. 207 K.-A.), contribute to show that frequent harmonic 'bends' (καμπαί or μεταβολαί) were felt as a distinguishing trait of the New Music. While the 'fondness' for rhythmic complexity appears to decrease over the fourth century BC, that for melodic complexity increases, on the contrary, so that the

to achieve evocative or mimetic effects. Or, to put it in the words of D'Angour (2006, 276), "rhetoric apart, much of the New Music would have seemed far from revolutionary in terms of *technē*".

The most 'revolutionary' aspect of the modernist style apparently lay elsewhere: the ornamental figures of the vocal melody and the intricacies of the instrumental accompaniment (especially when it was heterophonic),¹⁰⁴ all together, seem to have imposed not negligible modifications on the hearers' perception, giving more prominence to the musical language than in the past. In the more virtuosic songs, such as polymetric monodies, the poetic text could really appear to be something like a libretto for the music, an opportunity to display the performers' musical skills, as is suggested by Aristophanes' parody of Euripidean songs: the impression was no doubt strengthened by the absence of any development of a clear logical progression in the text. As a matter of fact, such pieces "cultivated a (more musical) logic of association, bypassing the intellect and appealing to the senses, the subconscious and the emotions" (Csapo 2004, 228). Euripides' monody of the Phrygian eunuch and Timotheus' narrative of the naval battle of Salamis are good examples of this way of composing: notwithstanding the loss of the music, and particularly of the (supposedly intricate) instrumental accompaniment, the complex metrical patterns of these songs still suggest a nuanced and emotionally arousing *rhythmopoia*.

The consequences of this development are well known: the performers became increasingly more important than the poets, as Aristotle (*Rh.* 1403b31-35) clearly attests for the fourth century. Evidently, public enthusiasm focused more and more on the virtuoso skills and showmanship of actors, singers and instrumentalists than on the abilities of the composers.

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composers of this period are defined by Aristoxenus as φιλομελείς (vs the older composers, which are instead defined as φιλορρυθμοί). See above 73-5.

104 On the role of heterophonic accompaniment in rhythmic articulation, see Barker 1995, 53-8.

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Echoes of the Rejection of the *Aulos* in Augustan Poetry

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Abstract

Athenian elites of the late fifth century BC rebelled against *aulos*-playing as part of the school curriculum and launched a socio-cultural campaign against the instrument. Echoes of this 'anti-*aulos*' crusade reverberated in literature in the centuries to follow as motifs of hostility towards *aulos* music. Ovid (*Fasti* 6.657-710) and Propertius (2.30b) engage in this discourse, largely disregarding the motives of the Athenians for spurning the instrument; instead they embed the rejection myths in their poetical programmes in the context of their precarious relationship with Augustan authority. This paper argues that while both poets oppose the rejection of the doublepipes, they do so for entirely different reasons. Although the negative image of the *aulos* is present in Latin literary sources, it is largely disconnected from the substantial role of the instrument in Roman musical culture.

Keywords

aulos – Roman elegy – Aristotle – Ovid – Augustan poetry – Propertius – love elegy – *tibia*

Although ubiquitous in Graeco-Roman musical culture and indispensable in the performative context, the *aulos*¹ became an object of fervent critique, as late fifth-century Athenian intellectual elites decided to strip the instrument

1 For the sake of clarity I employ the Greek name *aulos* to designate the instrument in question in both Greek and Roman contexts, as the two are often overlapping. I use *tibia* only with reference to Latin text. On the general use of terms *aulos/tibia*, see Moore 2012, 26 n. 1. I

of its previous distinguished cultural status.² While this seemingly radical step banished the *aulos* from the education of Athenian aristocratic youth, relegating it to professional *aulos*-players, it had little influence on the widespread use of the instrument in multiple social contexts.³ Nonetheless this cultural bias, often termed the ‘rejection of the *aulos*’, left an enduring imprint in literary sources, taking the form of diverse motifs that present the *aulos* in a negative light.

This paper argues that while echoes of the *aulos* rejection reverberate in literature for centuries to follow, some attempts were also made to restore or, at least, acknowledge its prominent cultural role. Two passages from Augustan elegy which form the core of my analysis employ the account of the invention and rejection of the *aulos* by Athena, often believed to reflect the so-called New Music Revolution.⁴ In one of these passages (2.30b.1-6), Propertius confronts the Athenian antagonism towards the instrument by drawing a parallel between the *aulos* and love elegy. I propose to interpret the second passage (Ov. *F.* 6.657-710) which juxtaposes two auletic myths—a Roman and a Greek one—as a signpost of the instrument’s important standing in Roman cult music.

1 Aristotle’s Objections to *Aulos*-Playing (*Pol.* 8.1341a-b)

According to a historicising scenario of the Athenian engagement with the pipes drawn by Aristotle (*Pol.* 8.1341a.28-40), the instrument gained popularity

spell ‘doublepipes’ as one word following Barnaby Brown’s texts devoted to the revival of the instrument on the blog <http://www.doublepipes.info/>.

- 2 The castigating discourse seems to reflect an overall negative attitude towards the *aulos* adopted at some point by Athenian society. We should not however take the literary voices, such as Plato’s (*R.* 3.399d) and Aristotle’s (*Pol.* 8.1341a-b), as a collective expression of social opposition to *aulos*-playing. In his paper on attitudes to *aulos*-playing in late fifth-century Athens, Martin (2003, 153) argues that “contrary to general opinion and recent studies, it was in fact only one small, time-bound Athenian group that opposed the playing of pipes; the opposition was purely theoretical”.
- 3 For a discussion about the role of the *aulos* in classical Athens, see Wilson 1999, 75-85.
- 4 In referring to the story of the *aulos*’ invention as a New Music myth, I follow the argument Pauline LeVen (2010) makes in her article on contextualisation of three lyric fragments from Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*; cf. also Wilson 1999, 63. It is open to debate how far the *aulos* and its rejection may be inscribed into the discourse of the New Music. For my part, I refrain from exploring this connection or from addressing the concept of the Athenian musical revolution in any other way than by linking the myth with broadly perceived aesthetics of the New Music. For a detailed discussion on the term ‘New Music’, see Csapo 2004; D’Angour 2006; LeVen 2014, 71-112.

among the upper classes as a subject of study and exploration in the times when, apparently as a result of their experiences in the Persian wars, the Athenians developed “aspirations towards virtue”. Apart from the *aulos* they took up other instruments, such as *pēktides* and *barbitoi*, which were later likewise abandoned or handed over to professional musicians as soon as Athenian society acquired a better understanding of “what is conducive to virtue and what is not”.⁵ As Wilson observes, the pattern of this account closely follows the myth of the invention of the *aulos* evoked by Aristotle at the end of his anti-*aulos* consideration,⁶ except that in the case of Athenian society the beginning of this interaction may be more accurately termed ‘adoption’ than ‘invention’.

In light of this account, ‘rejection’ emerges as an ill-suited term for what in fact constituted ‘relegation’ and ‘exclusion’ from the scope of the educational process.⁷ Aristotle, contrary to Plato (*R.* 3.399c-e), does not advocate definite banishment of the *aulos* from society; he merely denies that its music may have any beneficial effect for learning and attaining civic excellence.⁸ His main concern in this respect is the substantial technical prowess required to master the instrument, which reduces *aulos*-playing to a banausic activity that leaves no space for the development of judgement—a primary goal of education at large (1340b40-1341a21).⁹ Similarly, the orgiastic character often ascribed to *aulos* music, readily associated with irrepressible emotions and excitement, may thwart all efforts towards moral upbringing (1341a21-4).¹⁰ Finally, the third objection Aristotle formulates results from the predominantly vocal propensity of Greek music; the *aulos*, which, unlike the lyre does not permit its player to accompany his own singing, has an obvious impediment, referred to as ‘blocking speech’ and ‘preventing the use of *logos*’ (1341a24-6).¹¹ It is thus compelled to assume an inferior role as an accompaniment dependent upon another musician for a verbal performance.

Having rejected the *aulos* on the grounds mentioned above, Aristotle invokes the authority of Athena in support of his argument (1341b3-9). According to a well-known myth, the goddess invented the instrument, but having seen a

5 Quotations come from Barker’s (1984, 178) translation of Aristotle’s *Politics* 1339a11-1342b34.

6 Wilson (1999, 94) defines three stages of both Athena’s and Athens’ interaction with the *aulos* as ‘discovered’, ‘tested’, ‘rejected’; cf. LeVen 2010, 42f.

7 Cf. Wilson 1999, 94.

8 Cf. Martin 2003, 157.

9 Since the development of technical skills does not involve the employment of critical judgement, professional players who focus only on attaining manual proficiency become vulgar; cf. Wilson 1999, 93; Martin 2003, 156f.; LeVen 2010, 43.

10 Cf. Martin 2003, 155f. Wilson 1999, 94.

11 In Aristotelian terms, καλύειν τῷ λόγῳ (1341a25); cf. Martin 2003, 156; Wilson 1999, 94. On the inferiority of instrumental music, see Pl. *Lg.* 669e.

reflection of her cheeks puffed out by blowing, she cast it off in disgust. Clearly in reference to his previous discussion on the role of *mousikē* in education, the philosopher devises an alternative reason for Athena's contempt for the instrument, stating that the goddess saw little value in the *aulos* because "training in *aulos*-playing contributes nothing to the intelligence",¹² which echoes his earlier objections to all banausic instruments (1341a8).

Because of the discrepancy between literary attitudes to the *aulos* and its prominent role in musical culture, it is difficult to define the 'aulos rejection' *per se*. In the present consideration, I take a closer look at occurrences of the motif of the rejection by Athena. I argue that in the two cases I analyse, the motif is employed, contrary to its message, in order to emphasise the significant place of the *aulos* in Roman religion and literature. In the last part of my paper, I review notable instances of negative representations of the instrument in Latin literature as part of a broader 'anti-*aulos*' discourse. These instances, however, lack a direct reference to rejection. I perceive them as echoes of Greek criticism of the *aulos*, rather than as an attempt at polemic with literary tradition.

2 The Exile and Return of the *Aulos* in Ovid's *Fasti* (6.657-710)

Ovid evokes the myth of Athena and the *aulos* with regard to an entirely different social context than Aristotle, highlighting its significance in religious rites instead of its ethical influence (*F.* 6.657-710). Interwoven in an aetiological account of the origin of the *Quinquatrus Minusculae*, the myth provides a link between the instrument characteristic of the festival and the person of its patroness.¹³ Ovid builds his narrative by combining stories of two contrasting attitudes towards the pipes; in the finale of the first one, the *aulos* is 'reclaimed', while the second ultimately leads to its being 'discarded'. The manner in which the accounts are presented, however, seems to reason against the latter action and lend support to *aulos* music in the service of the city. Ovid marks the lesser festival,¹⁴ which presumably honoured Athena *Ergane*—the

12 Barker 1984, 179. The standard version of the myth was challenged not only by Aristotle; cf. Telestes *PMG* 805a-c. For other classical instances of opposition to *aulos*-rejection, see LeVen 2010, 37f.; Hagel 2008a, 140.

13 Athena with her temple on the Aventine was also patroness of the Roman *collegium tibicinum*; cf. CIL I² 2984; Fest. 149.9-12; Péché 2001, 324; Vincent 2016, 321f.

14 For a more detailed discussion on the two *Quinquatrus* festivals, see Pailler 2001, 342-5; Péché 2001, 324; Littlewood 2006, 192.

patroness of craftsmen (Quinquatrus Maiores were the principal celebration of the goddess)—, by bringing out her interrelation with the pipes.

Fiction and history intermingle in this account. In order to illustrate social attitudes towards the *aulos*, Ovid, like Aristotle, introduces a historicising narrative (6.657f. *temporibus veterum tibicinis usus avorum | magnus et in magno semper honore fuit*), which begins with the ‘adoption’ of the instrument, in a slightly corresponding manner to the so-called *aulos* craze of the Aristotelian passage (1341a32–7).¹⁵ The ensuing crisis, brought on by unjust restrictions imposed on the *tibicines* resulting in their voluntary exile to Tibur, practically deprives the city of its dramatic and ritual music (6.667f. *quaeritur in scaena cava tibia, quaeritur aris | ducit supremos nenia nulla toros*). The Romans, unable to properly perform sacrifices due to the absence of the *tibicines*,¹⁶ gladly welcome the pipers back and restore their privileges. Contrary to Aristotle, whose account emerges as an “acceptable fiction”,¹⁷ Ovid refers to what could have been considered an actual episode in the history of Rome.¹⁸ However, although the strike itself or the enforcement of the restrictive law that stripped the musicians of their privileges might have indeed occurred, the scenario of the return from the self-inflicted exile is almost certainly fictional, as it bears much resemblance to popular myths; for instance, Hephaistus’ return to Olympus.¹⁹ Both accounts follow roughly the same pattern. Hephaistus and the *tibicines* persistently withstood all attempts at recalling them from their exile. Since their absence disrupted the functioning of their communities, a plan was devised to bring them back. A cunning member of the community (in the case of Hephaistus—Dionysus) tricked them into accepting an invitation to a banquet where wine was served in excess, and thereafter the intoxicated were conveyed back home.²⁰

15 On the ‘*aulos* craze’ and narrative strategies of Aristotle in the ‘anti-*aulos*’ passage, see LeVen 2010, 42f.; cf. also Wilson 1999, 94.

16 Cf. Liv. 9.30.5f., *aegre passi Tibur uno agmine abierunt, adeo ut nemo in urbe esset qui sacrificiis praecineret*; Val. Max. 2.5.4, *quorum ministerio senatus deserta sacra non aequo animo ferens*; Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 55 (277f.), τῆς ἡπτέτο δεισιδαιμονίας τῶν ἱερέων ἀναυλα θυόντων.

17 Cf. LeVen 2010, 43.

18 Cf. Liv. 9.30.5–10. On Ovid’s debt to Livy in this passage, see Littlewood 2006, lxxx; Newlands 1995, 197. Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 55) and Valerius Maximus (2.5.4) offer largely corresponding accounts of the strike, the only significant difference being the nature of restrictions inflicted on the *tibicines*.

19 A detailed summary of the myth is known from Pausanias (1.20.3). On other sources of the account and its vase-depictions, see Seeberg 1965; Hedreen 1992, 13–30; Hedreen 2004; Mitchell 2009, 143–5.

20 For the return of the pipers to Rome, see Zeydel 1921; Pailler 2001; Littlewood 2006, 200.

If the return of the *tibicines* to Rome is indeed modelled on the myth of Hephaistus' return, and there are good reasons to believe so, some further parallels ensue, shedding new light on the Ovidian passage.²¹ Arguably, since a throng of tipsy, masked musicians might have been a common sight at Roman festivals, a search for its models in literary sources may seem superfluous.²² However, a careful motivic examination demonstrates that Ovid's portrayal of the pipers is in fact an amalgam of themes derived from various Greek genres; specifically, it is possible to draw associations between dithyrambic celebrations, often linked with the Dionysiac procession escorting Hephaestus to Olympus, and the besotted crowd of the *tibicines*, garbed in long robes and masks. It is also not difficult to imagine the *tibicines* as satyrs in a *kōmos*—a comparison easily drawn, as the instrument is a frequent attribute of satyrs.²³ Furthermore, although the parallels with comedy in the story of the pipers' strike are more than implicit, they have received little scholarly attention to this date. One detail in particular adds some strength to these associations; the reaction of the pipers, with which the restrictions imposed on them were met, encourages an analogy with the 'auletic parasite'—a topos known from Old Comedy.²⁴ The most famous example of such a parasitic *aulētēs* was Chairis, who would allegedly turn up unbidden at sacrifices and afterwards demand a remuneration.²⁵ The *tibicines* display a similar mercenary

21 Interestingly, representations of Hephaistus' return were widespread in Etruscan art. As evidence suggests, the theme was introduced to Etruria already in the sixth century BC; cf. Brommer 1978, 10. For depictions of the return of Hephaistus in early Roman art, see Brommer 1978, 14. For Hephaistus as a maker of *auloi*, see AP 13.20.

22 More specifically, performances of *aulos*-players were characteristic of *Ludi Scaenici*, introduced to Rome, according to Livy (7.2.1-13), in 364 BC.

23 *Aulos*-playing satyrs, frequent members of Dionysiac revelries, feature in many of the depictions of Hephaistus' return, as is the case of a scene on a volute-krater from Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence, 4209 (Mitchell 2009, 215), and an Attic red-figure calyx-krater from Harvard (1960.236). For further depictions of this kind, see Hedreen 2004, 65-9.

24 Cf. Wilson 1999, 79.

25 Aristoph. *Pax* 950-5, οὔκουν ἀμιλλήσεσθον; ὥς | ἦν Χαίρις ὑμᾶς ἴδῃ, | πρόσσεισιν αὐλήσων ἄκλιγτος, | καῖτα τοῦτ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι | φουσῶντι καὶ πονουμένῳ | προσδώσετε δήπου. Cf. Wilson 1999, 79; Moore 2017, 179 n. 4. The topos is virtually absent from Latin comedy. It might be, nevertheless, related in a certain manner to the motif of a wine-thirsty *tibicen*; cf. Plaut. *Sti.* 723-5, *age, tibicen, quando bibisti, refer ad labeas tibias*, | *suffla celeriter tibi buccas quasi proserpens bestia*, | *agedum*. Livy lists an exceptional predilection for wine as a distinctive characteristic of pipers in general (9.30, *et vino, cuius avidum ferme id genus est*). Cf. AP 7.223. See also Wille 1967, 35 n. 91.

attitude when they insist on participating *en masse* in religious rites or claim a privilege which is reserved for the senators and the *sodalitas*.²⁶

Performative contexts listed by the poet help explain the role Ovid assigns to the *aulos* in this passage. The instrument accompanied the sacrifices, games and funerals (6.659f. *cantabat fanis, cantabat tibia ludis, | cantabat maestis tibia funeribus*). Once the *tibicines* had abandoned the city, its ritual life came to a sudden halt. Ovid, as well as other sources of the account, implies that musical accompaniment was an essential element of sacrifices and could not be easily dispensed with.²⁷ Evidence in support of this notion is provided by Cicero, who attests that a ceremony was invalid when a piper fell silent during an offering.²⁸ If so, then a community entirely deprived of its sacrificial music risked committing *hybris* and thereby inducing the wrath of the gods. Consequently, the function of the *aulos* in the service of Roman religious rituals emerges as a fundamental theme in the narrative, and may be figuratively designated as a link between the Romans and their deities. Ovid not only establishes the doublepipe as a traditional Roman instrument, but also as a warranty of social and religious order. Moreover, in the context of the agenda that Ovid pursues in the *Fasti*, a story with apparent religious overtones translates well into Augustan 'restoration' and corresponding cultural reforms.²⁹

If this is the case, how, one may wonder, does the myth of the *aulos* rejection (6.697-710) relate to the image of the instrument drawn in the first part of the narrative? Why does Ovid combine an account demonstrating the significance

26 Sources vary with regard to the nature of the restrictions imposed on the *tibicines*. While Livy and Valerius Maximus cite a ban on feasting at the temple of Jupiter as the event which sparked the pipers to a rebellion, Ovid claims that they opposed an order of an aedile limiting the number of musicians at a funeral to ten. Cicero records the existence of such a law in *Leg. 2.23.59*. Cf. CIL 6.3696. Ovid emphasises mercenary motives of the *tibicines*, which put them on a par with auletic parasites (*F. 6.661f. dulcis erat mercede labor. tempusque secutum | quod subito gratae frangeret artis opus*). For the role of music in convivial culture of Rome and the social function of *sodalitas*, see Habinek 2005, 36-44.

27 Cf. Wille 1967, 37f. The same, in all evidence, holds true for the *aulos* in Greek culture; cf. Martin 2003, 156. Visual depictions of the *aulos* accompanying an Athenian sacrificial ritual include a red-figure bell-krater, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, inv. 92.25. On *aulos* music as an indispensable part of sacrificial rites in Rome, see Péch  2001, 310-6; Vincent 2016, 144-9.

28 Cic. *Har. 23*, *An si ludius constitit, aut tibicen repente conticuit, aut puer ille patrimus et matrimus si tensam non tenuit, si lorum omisit, aut si aedilis verbo aut simpuvio aberravit, ludi sunt non rite facti*. A detail of a sacrificial scene features in the so-called altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Paris, Louvre inv. 975; cf. Newby 2016, 13. A sacrificial scene with a Phrygian *aulos* is depicted on a fresco from Pompeii (VII 6.3, Naples 8905); cf. B lis 1999, fig. 6.

29 Cf. Baudot 1973, 42f.; Vincent 2008, 433f. On Augustan ideology in the *Fasti*, see Williams 2009, 212-6. For the Augustan cultural revolution in general, see Wallace-Hadrill 1997.

of the *aulos* to the Roman community with a myth of its rejection?³⁰ This baffling issue may be construed in connection to the form of the second story. While Ovid disguises the account of the pipers' strike as an episode from the history of Rome, the ensuing myth remains well entrenched in the realm of fiction. Set in a pastoral scene—on a river bank inhabited by nymphs—the account is crafted by means of a clearly different narratological technique. Apart from the fictional elements, the differences also concern the length and the level of detail, dominant in the first story.³¹ The foremost function of the rejection myth, I would therefore argue, is to provide a link between the instrument and the goddess in her capacity as the patroness of handicraft. *Tamen* in the final distich, which reinforces Athena in her role as the *inventrix*, may indicate that the goddess recounts the 'invention-rejection' myth, to a certain degree, *en passant*—as one of the most popular stories associated with the doublepipes.

Ovid evokes the rejection of the *aulos* on two other occasions, underscoring in each case a different aspect of the myth. In all three renditions, including the passage from the *Fasti*, the myth is signalled by a phrase uttered by Athena (or Marsyas), which has become a symbolic formula, epitomising the rejection of the instrument.³² And so, in the *Ars Amatoria* (3.503-8), Ovid admonishes his *puellae* against fits of anger, employing the analogy with Athena's distorted features as an example of ugliness induced by uncontrolled emotions.³³ The instrument, then, acts against 'corporeal integrity' and self-control—two Athenian civic virtues which Aristotle no doubt had in mind when he objected to the orgiastic character of *aulos* music.³⁴

Although the second passage (*Met.* 6.382-400) also incorporates the rejection formula, it does so with regard to a lost contest. The well-known story develops as follows: after picking up the *aulos* cast off by Athena, Marsyas goes

30 For instance, Murgatroyd (2005, 62) considers the two parts of the account contradictory, and finds the entire narrative "rather dry and dull, and also unclear". Cf. Newlands 1995, 200. On other textual difficulties and ambiguities in the *Fasti* passage, see Oakley 2005, 678f.

31 It seems that Ovid edited some parts of *Fasti* Book 6 during his exile; cf. Newlands 1995, 5; Barchiesi 1997, 89f.; Williams 2009, 216. The second part of Athena's narrative might have been added in order to include the topos of *hybris*; cf. below, n. 36.

32 *Ov. F.* 6.701, "*ars mihi non tanti est; valeas, mea tibia*" dixi, cf. also *A.A.* 3.505, *Met.* 6.386. In all three passages, Ovid adapts a formula known from Greek sources; for instance, Melanippides (*PMG* 758). For a similar formulaic phrase, see *Plut. De Cohib.* 456b. Cf. Bömer 1976, 109; Gibson 2003, 302.

33 As Gibson (2003, *ad loc.*) observes, the analogy was commonly employed in moral treatises and literature on anger in general. A good example of a facial expression during *aulos*-playing may be found in Naples 9021 (see Figure 2).

34 For the corporeal aspect of the rejection myth, see Wilson 1999, 64f.

to great lengths in order to master the instrument, and once he achieves virtuosity, he summons Apollo to a contest.³⁵ In this passage, Ovid recalls in fact only the violent finale of this rivalry in which ruthless punishment is inflicted on the satyr for his *hybris*.³⁶ Interestingly, the *kithara* is not alluded to in this brief account of the *agôn*.

This brings me to the second argument in support of the thesis that, despite the presence of the 'rejection myth', the portrayal of the *aulos* in *Fasti* 6.657-710 goes against the tradition of its negative representations. Ovid seems to deliberately shun the dichotomy between the pipes and the *kithara*, since the circumstances of the contest against the stringed instrument were as demeaning for the *aulos* as the act of rejection itself;³⁷ hence the couplet, which refers to the competition (*F.* 6.707f.), appears almost redundant. It is significant that Ovid reduces the reference to the popular myth to a bare minimum, as if fearing that comparisons with the *kithara* would recall the negative associations. Whereas in the actual performative space the two instruments might have peacefully coexisted, their rivalry in literary sources is more than apparent.³⁸

Lastly, little thought has been given to the consequences that Athena would have faced, had she not spurned the pipes. Despite having invented the *aulos* and its music (6.709f.: *sum tamen inventrix auctorque ego carminis huius*), the goddess was compelled, in a certain manner, to reject it; otherwise she would have had to confront disconcerting parallels with an *aulētris*. The evidence

35 Other occurrences of the myth include, *Pl. R.* 399e; *Apul. Fl.* 3; *Plut. Quaest. Conv.* 7.8.713; *AP* 7.696, 9.266 and 340, 16.8.

36 With regard to the motif of *hybris* in *Fasti* 6.657-710, Barchiesi (1997, 90) advances an interesting hypothesis that could be extended to all the Ovidian passages which recount the myth of the contest. It is possible, he argues, to draw a parallel between the rejected instrument, not worthy of its inventor (or player, in the case of Marsyas) and Ovid who, by means of the 'rejection phrase', renounces his own poetry responsible for his exile, since there may be an analogy between the *aulos* and Ovid's love-elegy. Cf. Newlands 1995, 201f.

37 As Wallace (2003, 82) observes, "the different Marsyas myths mark off the *aulos* as an anti-lyre". For a comparison between the *aulos* and the *kithara*, see Hagel 2008a, 146f. Although the importance of the *aulos* appears to have increased in the fourth century, as the instrument had far greater technical and harmonic capacities than the lyre (cf. Barker 1989, 26), its disrepute initiated in the late fifth century still thrived in literature; cf. Wallace 2003, 82. Examples of a negative representation of the instrument in literary sources abound: in Old Comedy the *aulos* is a frequent object of ridicule; cf. *Ar. Ach.* 860-71 and Moore 2017, 179; it has destructive powers, while the cithara is constructive (*AP* 9.216, 250 and 253); it is unreliable and difficult to control; cf. *Aristox. El. harm.* 2.41.20.42-21.23.

38 For literary sources on instrumental consorts (pipes with lyres) in Rome, see Piché 2001, 331f.; Vincent 2016, 179-81; Morgan 2017, 91, n. 32. This combination is also not infrequent in visual depictions of processions, both Greek and Roman, and earlier in convivial settings. Evidence for occasional joint performances of wind and stringed instruments is sufficient; cf. Hagel 2008a, 145f.; [Arist.] *De audib.* 801b.

that female *aulos*-players participated in public performances and were members of professional guilds is scarce. Their role as musicians was, by and large, limited to providing convivial entertainment at best, which allotted to them the social standing of prostitutes.³⁹ While in classical and hellenistic Athens *aulētrides* were also admitted in cult music and paid salaries for their service,⁴⁰ similar cases in Rome are poorly documented.⁴¹ It seems, therefore, unusual that Ovid links the *stola* worn by the *tibicines* during the Quinquatrus with the presence of female players among the crowd of the pipers (6.687f. *ut hunc tibicina coetum | augeat, in longis vestibus esse iubet*). No proof of his testimony is found in any other sources; nor it is likely that women indeed performed at Roman public festivals.⁴² In comedy, for instance, very few extant depictions may represent female pipers actually accompanying a play.⁴³ *Tibicinae* featured commonly as characters in the plot, most often as companions of the protagonist in a symposium, while the role of the official accompanist was entrusted to male *aulos*-players.⁴⁴ Given the very low social standing of the so-called 'flute-girls' and a frequent overlap of their profession with prostitution, a goddess impersonating an *aulētris* must have been considered something preposterous.⁴⁵

39 For the social standing of female performers in Rome, see Morgan 2017, 89f., 93-7. On the social status of performers in Rome in general, see Edwards 1997, 66-95; Vincent 2016, 225-9., 289f. On parallels between *aulos*-playing and prostitution, cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 1415; Hor. *Epist.* 1.14.25; Mart. 14.63. With regard to the status of *tibicines*, Quintilian (5.11.9) observes *Tibicines, cum ab urbe discessissent, publice revocati sunt: quanto magis principes civitatis uiri et bene de re publica meriti, cum invidiae cesserint, ab exilio reducendi!* On the participation of women in Roman cult, see Fantham 2002.

40 Cf. Bélis 1999, 52f. In Athens *aulētrides* were employed as professional musicians in cults reserved for women, cf. Scheithauer 2015, 138; Bélis 1999, 41f. In Attic vase-painting, female *aulos*-players (not necessarily courtesans) feature in wedding ceremonies and in scenes representing private female music-making; cf. Oakley and Sinos 1993, 58, 70, 99, 119; Harmon 2005.

41 Wille (1967, 37) mentions three depictions of *aulos*-players assisting sacrificial rituals, interpreted by Quasten as female figures.

42 The remaining sources offer different aetiology (if any at all) of the *stola*; cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 55. Undoubtedly, long robes worn by the *tibicines* were associated with feminine clothing; cf. Hor. *Ars P.* 215. The origin of this costume was in fact either Etruscan or Greek; cf. Bömer 1958, 380. For depictions documenting long outfit of theatrical *aulētai* and participants in *aulos* contests in Greece as well as Rome, see Naples H 3240; Naples 9985 (see Figure 1 and Figure 2); Naples 9986; London E270; London E288.

43 Cf. Moore 2012, 32, 34f.; Fleischhauer 1964, 92f., provided we accept Greek evidence as equally relevant.

44 Cf. Moore 2012, 31-4.

45 A notable exception from this ignoble image of female pipers are depictions of Euterpe, presenting the Muse as a noblewoman with a pair of elaborate pipes in her hand. These



FIGURE 1 Rehearsal for a performance; an *aulos*-player is wearing a characteristic long robe. Mosaic from Casa del Poeta tragico, end of the 1st century BC, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. no. 9986 (after *PPM* 1993 IV, 546, fig. 35).

I would like to conclude my consideration of *Fasti* 6.657-710 with a reference to the starting point, namely Aristotle's rejection of the *aulos*. Ovid does not address any of the objections formulated by Aristotle, nor does he engage in a discussion on the ethical value of the instrument. In fact we cannot be at all certain that, when writing his own version of the myth, the poet relied on Aristotle's text. Undoubtedly, since *aulos*-players in Rome were, for the most part, hired professionals (members of the *collegium tibicinum*, at any rate), these objections naturally lost their relevance.⁴⁶ Yet Aristotle's historicising account about a changeable social attitude towards the instrument appears to

portrayals, however, gained popularity much later, probably at the beginning of the Imperial period; cf. Euterpe from Triclinium A in Murecine, now in the Great Palestra of Pompeii (see Figure 3); in the National Museum of History and Art, Luxembourg (a Roman mosaic from Vichten); in the Rheinische Landesmuseum Trier (Hyagnis and Euterpe); Bélis 1999, fig. 11.

46 For Etruscan origin of the first professional *aulos*-players in Rome, see Liv. 7.2.1-13; Val. Max. 2.4.4; Verg. *G.* 2.193f.



FIGURE 2 Concert scene, probably after an early-Hellenistic model; fresco from Herculaneum, around 25 BC, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. no. 9021 (courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli / Parco Archeologico di Pompei).

have become a topos, and its influence on the structure of the passage in question, even if indirect, is manifest. The passage presents the *aulos* in conjunction with religion. In this dimension, according to the Aristotelian categories, the instrument emerges as an orgiastic, 'anti-ethical' power with Dionysiac overtones.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Ovid advocates its essential character for Roman society, largely disregarding poetic tradition which consigned the pipes to disrepute. His reasons for doing so appear politically grounded, which is attested by the presence of themes related to authority and religion (twice the motif of

47 Cf. Martin 2003, 156. As Martin (2003, 175 n. 10) notes, the pipes may have marked the moment of drawing blood—the culmination point of sacrifice; cf. also Wille 1967, 36f.



FIGURE 3 Euterpe holding an *aulos* furnished with an intricate mechanism; fresco from Triclinium A, north wall, Murecine, around 62 AD, Grande Palestra, Pompeii, inv. no. 85182 (courtesy of the Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli / Parco Archeologico di Pompei).

hybris).⁴⁸ Regardless of the particulars of the relationship between politics and poetics in the *Fasti*, an obvious purpose of a calendar of national festivals is, as Barchiesi observes, to sustain national identity and promote values consolidating the community;⁴⁹ it should come therefore as no surprise that in this case Ovid indeed follows the course appointed by Augustus' social politics.⁵⁰

3 An Unfair Rejection of the *Aulos* in Propertius 2.30b

The second passage of Augustan poetry on which I would like to focus (Propertius 2.30b), evokes the rejection of the *aulos* in an entirely different context. This difference concerns, above all, the setting of *aulos* music and the poet's attitude towards Augustan moral policies. Propertius alludes to the myth in connection to Phrygia—the mythical birthplace of Marsyas—referred to by the phrase *hic locus est*:⁵¹

*Ista senes licet accusent convivium duri:
nos modo propositum, vita, teramus iter
illorum antiquis onerantur legibus aures:
hic locus est in quo, tibia docta, sonos,
quae non iure vado Maeandri iacta natasti,
turpia cum faceret Palladis ora tumor.*

The *tibia* is evoked here in a convivial setting. Contrary to public performative contexts associated by Ovid with the instrument in *Fasti* 6.657–710, *aulos* tunes

48 On the establishment of the *collegium tibicinum*, its legal status and its role in reinvention of Roman religion under Augustus, see Vincent 2008; Vincent 2016, 340–3. Although the voluntary exile to Tibur (sometimes dated to 311 BC) is associated with the *collegium tibicinum*, we need to take into account that the surviving epigraphic evidence attests the existence of the guild only between the first century BC and the second century AD. Ovid and Livy thus present the *collegium* as a traditional Roman religious institution, with an apparent aim at promoting an emerging or newly re-established organisation which was legally sanctioned by Augustus; cf. Vincent 2008, 430f.

49 Barchiesi 1997, 50. Cf. also Newlands 1995, 11.

50 Barchiesi (1997, 76) argues that *iubeor* (651) may indicate that the aetiological account of the *Quinquatrus Minores* was included in the *Fasti* against Ovid's choice, but out of a necessity to promote the social order instituted by Augustus.

51 *Elegy* 2.30b is problematic and lacunose, which is a major obstacle to its interpretation. The passage is quoted from Fedeli's (2005, 852) edition of Propertius' *Elegies*. I propose that *hic locus est* is a reference to Phrygia mentioned in the next verse. On textual problems in this elegy, see Hayworth 2009, 242–6.

resounding during symposia marked a private, intimate sphere of ancient musical culture. This kind of music was merely meant to dispense pleasure and provide amusement. In the view of Aristotle, this was also the ultimate goal of music in general (*Pol.* 8.1339b-1340a), and as such, it was acceptable, but could not be credited with any sort of edifying influence. May we identify a voice like his—epitomising a reflection on ethical values—with the reproachful voices of old men denouncing convivial immorality?⁵² Or shall we rather take *senes duri* as officers of Augustan marriage laws, which Propertius violates by refusing to marry?⁵³ In any case, the poet speaks out against an undefined 'establishment', be it contemporaneous social policies or a literary tradition in a broader sense.⁵⁴ In doing so, he manifests a different approach than Ovid, who tried to inscribe the *aulos* in the mainstream discourse dictated by the Augustan cultural project.

The phrase *non iure* plays a key role in our interpretation of this passage. In this way Propertius counters the rejection of the instrument and confronts the entire 'anti-*aulos*' tradition. In order to understand why he believes that the *aulos* was unjustly spurned, we should examine the connotations of *tibia docta* from the preceding verse. Interestingly, in connection with Aristotle's critique of the *aulos*, the adjective *docta* emerges as a paradox—on the one hand, it may denote 'learned' (especially when referring to deities),⁵⁵ while on the other hand, it may mean 'skillful' (when alluding to technical skills).⁵⁶ Which of the two is our *tibia*? It appears that Propertius consciously makes use of this double-entendre, thereby emphasizing technical demands of the instrument and its metapoetic connotations. In the latter context, *docta tibia* may be regarded as a metonymy of elegy, in a parallel manner to *docta carmina*, which is often employed with reference to the genre.⁵⁷ The address to the instrument, modelled undoubtedly on an invocation to a Muse, seems to support such an interpretation. If it is corroborated, then the passage in question emerges as a defense of love elegy against the criticism expressed by conservative

52 On immoral, sexual connotations of the *convivium* in this passage, see Cairns 1971, 205.

53 Cf. Prop. 2.7.1-6.

54 In this passage, Propertius draws on Catullus 5.2, but it is unlikely that he opposes the same moral order as the neoterics. According to Segal's (2007, 81) interpretation, Catullus challenges conventional Roman *negotium*.

55 *Docta* as an attributive of Athena: cf. Ov. *F.* 6.656; App. Verg. *El.* 1.17; with regard to the Muses: cf. Hor. *C.* 3.9.10; Tib. 3.4.45; Ov. *AA.* 2.425, *F.* 6.811, *Tr.* 2.1.13; Sen. *Ag.* 331f.; Mart. 1.70.15; AP 504f.; *doctus Apollo*: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1.705, *Sil.* 5.3.91; σοφὸν ὄργανον of the *aulos*, cf. Telestes *PMG* 805a.

56 With regard to artists, especially female musicians; cf. Morgan 2017, 97 n. 59. In a similar sense, *artificis docta manu*: cf. Tib. 1.8.12; Ov. *F.* 3.818.

57 For *docta carmina*, see Tib. 2.3.30; Prop. 2.34.79; Ov. *Tr.* 3.7.12.

supporters of the Augustan moral reforms who consider it useless, or even harmful to the state.⁵⁸ By associating elegy and the *tibia* in a convivial context, Propertius alludes to elegiac tradition, which derives the genre from sympotic songs accompanied by the *aulos*.⁵⁹

4 Luxury and Variety in *Aulos* Music

Finally, it would be interesting to consider to what extent Ovid's discussion of the *aulos* in Roman tradition corresponds to musical practices of the Augustan age.⁶⁰ In other words, did the instrument indeed have as prominent a cultural function in a larger, synchronic perspective as Ovid implies? This question invites parallels with *Ars Poetica* 202-19. Illustrating the role of the *aulos* in Roman theatre, Horace also constructs a historicising narrative, furnished with a tinge of ethical judgement. His remarks on the technical advancement of instruments (*auloi* encased in *orichalcum* resemble a trumpet,⁶¹ the number of strings in lyres has increased, modes and rhythms have become more varied) sound a familiar note.⁶² At first glance, it is difficult to reckon what ethical attitude Horace assumes towards these changes. His judgement, however, becomes clearer once the imagery employed in the passage is examined. Roman theatre of the 'past' is characterised by such qualifying phrases as *simplex*, *tenuis* (with regard to the *tibia*), *castus*, *verecundus* (with regard to

58 Cairns (1971, 210) proposes a similar interpretation, identifying, however, *senes duri* as advocates of epic—a genre promoting principal values of the Roman state. The passage may be then considered a *recusatio* from composing epic poetry; cf. Cairns 1971, 213.

59 Cf. Campbell 1964; Aloni 2001, 88.

60 Propertius' treatment of the *aulos* seems purely metaphorical with no ties to performative practices.

61 There has been a long-standing debate concerning the type of the instrument encased in bronze (*orichalco vincta*); cf. Wyslucha 2018, 231. Although parallels with professional *auloi* of the Augustan period are not unjustified, some clues are also provided by literary sources. The employment of ὀρεῖχαλκος in [Hes.] *Sc.* 1.122 suggests a connection with the *tibia* via 'shinbone' (I am indebted to Fabian Zogg for this observation). For *orichalcum* (a valuable alloy of copper and zinc or tin, most likely), see Russo 1950, 103; Brink 1971, 264; Péché—Vendries, 2001, 29; Verg. *Aen.* 12.87; Plin. *HN* 34.2.2. Interestingly, in Pindar's *Pythian* 12.25, λεπτοῦ χαλκοῦ (evocative of both *tenuis* and *orichalcum*) is used as a metonymy for the *aulos*, undoubtedly, of an old type. On the known *aulos* mechanisms in archaeological finds, see Sutkowska 2012; Sutkowska 2015. An instrument of this kind is likely portrayed on a Pompeian fresco from Murecine (see Figure 3).

62 On the changes in musical style of the later fifth century, see Barker 1984, 93.

the audience), whereas ‘modern-day’ theatre has been affected by *luxuries*.⁶³ Likewise, contemporaneous music (if we accept a synchronic interpretation of *nunc*), Horace seems to suggest, has been corrupted by luxury.⁶⁴ Apart from a sumptuous outfit for theatrical *aulētai*, sophisticated instruments made of expensive metal alloys are symbols of this corruption. Horace’s objection echoes mainly Aristotle’s and to some extent Plato’s criticism of virtuoso instruments (which must have been considerably advanced already in the fourth century BC), but there is reason to believe that it may also pertain to *auloi* of his own time.⁶⁵ A corresponding, yet contrasting, depiction, emerges from two Greek epigrams (*AP* 9.266 and 517).⁶⁶ Both of them praise the skill of an *aulos*—virtuoso, Glaphyrus, the technical capabilities of his modulating instrument and its ‘varied’ music (πολυτρήτων, ποικιλοτερπές). Such an instrument would have never lost a contest to a lyre (266), nor would Athena cast it off, had she been able to play like Glaphyrus (517). Contrary to Horace, whose criticism generally follows the course appointed by Greek philosophers, the author of *AP* 9.266 cites what may be considered the banausic character of the *aulos* as its greatest merit, entirely neglecting the traditional connotations of the rejection myths he recalls.⁶⁷ His strategy resembles that of Ovid and Propertius, who employ the same myth when arguing for the importance of the Roman *aulos* in religious and literary contexts. In any event, these testimonies seem to attest not only to the fact that the contemporaneous auletic scene was dominated by exceptionally accomplished professionals and superb instruments meeting high technical demands of modulating music,⁶⁸ but that intellectual

63 Obviously, in the light of Roman moral discourse, the first set (*simplex, tenuis, castus, verecundus*) encompasses positive values, while *luxuries* has negative connotations; cf. Brink 1971, 270. For discussion of Roman attitudes towards luxury, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 315–55. On corruption by Greek luxury, see Spatworth 2012, 14f. The reference to long robes of a theatrical *aulētēs* in verse 215 points to a close connection between luxury and effeminacy; cf. n. 42 above. For effeminacy in music, see *Pl. R.* 398e; Quint. 1.10.31.

64 On the connotations of *nunc* in verse 202 as an indication of relevance to the contemporary Roman scene, see Brink 1971, 263.

65 On Aristotelian affiliations of the *Ars P.* passage, see Brink 1971, 260–2.

66 Authorship of both epigrams is dubious. If they are correctly ascribed (to Antipater of Thessalonica), then they may indeed come from the late Hellenistic period; cf. Gow 1968, 24, 105. The mention of Glaphyrus is not of much help here, as several *aulētai* from different eras were known by this name; cf. Scheithauer 2015, 120 n. 41; Wille 1967, 321.

67 The author of the epigram seems negligent of Aristotle’s critique of the banausic aspect of the *aulos*, when he brings up the technical, virtuoso quality of the instrument as its advantage over the *kithara*; cf. above, nn. 9 and 12.

68 The same was probably true for fourth-century Athens, but in the late Hellenistic period instruments were even more technically advanced. For an example of such an instrument from the late Hellenistic era or the early Imperial period, see Hagel 2008b.

elites, although conscious of literary tradition censuring the *aulos*, felt it was necessary to acknowledge its cultural significance.

Before I bring my discussion to a close, I would like briefly to review Latin echoes of other objections to *aulos*-playing. As has already been mentioned, Horace's censuring tone reflects in the main the Athenian hostility to the instrument, with one crucial difference: Horace blames luxury for the corruption of music, which is a novelty in the discourse of *aulos* criticism.⁶⁹ The same objection is repeated by Pliny (*HN* 16.170f.) in a passage drawn from Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* 4.11.5), recounting changes in Theban *aulos* music. While Theophrastus ventures no ethical judgement on these changes, Pliny's text lists variety and luxury as two driving forces behind the innovations (*postquam varietas accessit et cantus quoque luxuria*). The new style was characterised by 'inflections of tone' (*flectendos sonos*) whose exact meaning is hard to infer. Does Pliny associate corruption by luxury with modulating music? In order to answer this question we need to sift through the Latin Corpus for similar phrases. Cicero employs *in cantu flexiones* and similar *falsae voculae*, when comparing a commendable variety in speech delivery to a diversity of notes in a melody.⁷⁰ According to Apuleius, *voculae* in the context of *aulos* music were embellishments of melody, exquisite details which, when precisely executed, showcased the great skill of an *aulētēs*.⁷¹ In any case, both *flexiones* and *voculae* seem to designate modulations of some sort, and may be cognate with *καμπαί*, a more technical term for modulations.⁷² If these assumptions are correct,

69 It may reflect, however, a suspicion towards the Lydian mode and its variants, inherited from archaic and early classical Greece (Pl. *R.* 398e-f). 'Slack', convivial *harmoniai* were associated with the luxurious lifestyle of the Lydians.

70 *De or.* 3.25.98, *Quanto molliores sunt et delicatiores in cantu flexiones et falsae voculae quam certae et severae!* Cicero's account of variety in music can perhaps be interpreted in connection with preserved pieces of musical notation. It matches especially well the Delphic Paeon of Athenaios (*DAGM* № 20), whose chromatic middle section may indeed include *in cantu flexiones*, whereas outer sections may be seen as an example of a more 'austere', classicising style. For *severitas* with reference to traditional music and *flexiones modorum* designating innovations, see Cic. *Leg.* 2.15.39.

71 *Flor.* 4, *Tibicen quidam fuit Antigenidas, omnis voculae melleus modulator et idem omnimodis peritus modificator.*

72 For *καμπαί* as a technical term for modulations, see Barker 1984, 94; LeVen 2014, 75f. Hagel (2000, 85f.) suggests that *καμπαί* might have been modulations to distant tonalities, perhaps reaching outside of the basic fourth-fifth relationships; cf. also Hagel 2009, 270. For examples of such modulations, see Hagel 2000, 59-76. In Latin literature modulations were not consistently opposed. While Pliny and Horace express their antagonism towards these innovations solely in the context of luxury, neither Apuleius nor Cicero appear to mind 'inflections of tone', provided they are applied with moderation.

then Horace, and after him Pliny, add luxury to the long-standing critique of the 'new' variegated, modulating style associated with the *aulos*.

Conclusions

Two diverse images of the *aulos* and its role drawn by Ovid and Propertius mark two sides of the Augustan social debate on Roman tradition and *mores*. Ovid assembles the anecdote about the *tibicines* from pieces of different literary traditions and topoi, and lends it the appearance of a historical event. His efforts are clearly aimed at raising the status of the instrument so that it would rank among Roman religious symbols. At the same time, these efforts coincide with Augustus' endeavours to 'reinstitute' Roman religion on a corresponding principle—by reviving extinct customs or inventing new ones in a traditional disguise. When forging a bond between the instrument and the state religion, Ovid consciously omits non-Roman provenance of the *aulos* and equally prominent, if not prevalent, cultural significance of the *kithara*.

Propertius, on the contrary, evokes the myth of the spurned pipes as a parallel to the unfair objections formulated against elegy by the advocates of the Augustan social project. The *aulos*, perceived by moral authorities as a symbol of promiscuous symposia, embodies, in the poet's view, Roman love elegy and its values of poetical freedom, independent from the favoured social order.

In their treatment of the rejection myths, the two passages refrain from addressing social aspects of hostility against the instrument, as these aspects had long since lost their relevance. The rejection of the *aulos* endured, therefore, solely as a literary theme and as such it is evoked by the Roman elegists who are pursuing their own poetical agendas. Consequently, apart from allusions to key performative contexts of the instrument, their versions of the theme are almost entirely deprived of references to contemporaneous musical practices. Finally, echoes of other objections against the doublepipes (modulations, high technical demands) are feeble in Latin sources, which is a clear sign that the 'anti-*aulos*' discourse had a negligible influence on the prominent position held by the instrument in Roman musical culture.

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The Hymn of Mesomedes on Antinous (Inscription of Courion, Mitford No. 104)

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Abstract

The citharode Mesomedes of Crete was one of the poets at the court of Hadrian. In late antiquity a selection of his poetry was assembled, and this corpus survived in transmission until medieval times, partly with musical notation. But of course the oeuvre of Mesomedes was much greater, as we see from two poems transmitted by the *Greek Anthology* and a lost *encomium* on Antinous, Hadrian's *paidika*, as the *Suda* informs us. In his publication of the inscriptions of Courion (10 km west of Limassol) Mitford recognized clearly that the Antinous in Courion no. 104 must be the *paidika* of the Emperor Hadrian, and that the hymn in the inscription must be an *encomium* to Antinous, who drowned in the waters of the Nile in 130 AD. By comparing the metrics and the style of the *encomium* with the preserved poetry of Mesomedes, I shall argue that the hymn on Antinous is the *encomium* attested by the *Suda* for Mesomedes.

Keywords

Mesomedes – Hadrian – Antinous – Courion (Cyprus) – encomiastic poetry

The citharode Mesomedes of Crete, one of the poets at the court of Hadrian, is in several respects a special case. It is known that in late antiquity a selection of his poetry was assembled by an admirer of his poems, and that this corpus survived in transmission until medieval times, partly with musical notation.¹

1 See DAGM 24-26, Pöhlmann 2017. On December 19, 2018, I could study the inscription analyzed in this paper and take photographs in the Museum at Episcopi, Limassol, by kind permission of Director Dr. Marina Solomidou-Ieronymou, Department of Antiquities, Lefkosia.

But of course the oeuvre of Mesomedes was much greater, as we see from two poems transmitted by the *Greek Anthology*² and a lost *encomium* on Antinous, Hadrian's *paidika*, as the *Suda* informs us:

Mesomedes, lyric poet from Crete, living in the time of Hadrian, freedman of the latter and one of his most intimate friends. He wrote an *encomium* on Antinous, the *παίδικα* of Hadrian, and other different poems.³

Antinous drowned in the waters of the Nile in 130 AD. At the place of his death in middle Egypt Hadrian founded the town Antinoupolis (today *sheich abâde*) and instituted divine worship, games, priests and temples for him.⁴ Of course this event provoked a real Antinous hype, which is attested by honorary inscriptions, statues and new cults.⁵ Numenius wrote a *consolatio* for the mourning Emperor;⁶ the Alexandrian Pancrates wrote a poem in hexameters to Antinous;⁷ and Mesomedes wrote the aforementioned *encomium* on Antinous.

In his publication of the inscriptions of Courion (10 km west of Limassol) Mitford recognized clearly that the Antinous in the inscription no. 104 must be the *paidika* of the Emperor Hadrian, and that the inscription must be an *encomium* to the latter. Mitford's publication of the Antinous Hymn (see n. 8) is still indispensable for his careful description of the inscription and its photograph. But he incorrectly identified dactylic metre in it, perhaps misled by the hexameters of the Antinous Hymn of Pancrates.⁸

Lebek was the first to see that lines 7-17 of the inscription are a hymn in apocrota or paroemiacs, the favourite metre of Mesomedes. Therefore, his supplements differ significantly from the supplements of Mitford. Here follows Lebek's reconstruction:⁹

2 *AP* 14.63, *APL* 323: Mesom. 12f. Heitsch. Mesomedes' poems and fragments are quoted below always according to Heitsch's edition.

3 *Suda* μ 668 A. Μεσομήδης, Κρής, λυρικός, γεγονώς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀδριανοῦ χρόνων, ἀπελεύθερος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος. γράφει οὖν εἰς Ἀντίνοον ἔπαινον, ὃς ἦν Ἀδριανοῦ παιδικὰ καὶ ἄλλα διάφορα μέλη.

4 Cf. Paus. 8.9.7, Amm. 22.16.2; see Lambert 1984.

5 See Meyer 1991.

6 Cf. *Suda* ν 518 A.

7 Cf. Ath. 15.677d, where four Hexameters of the poem are quoted, and *P. Oxy.* 1085: Pancrat. fr. 2 Heitsch.

8 See Mitford 1971, 195-9 (photo: 196).

9 Cf. Lebek 1973, 113, where lines 7-17 of the inscription are vv. 1-14 of the Antinous Hymn, which is written like prose, not κατὰ στίχον, as usual in poetry with musical notation. See DAGM 73 and 85 n. 1.

- 1 [θρηνοῦ]μεν Ἄ[δ]ωνιν ὑπόχθονα
 2 πά[ρος ἄμμι καλού]μενον Ἀντίνουν,
 3 λέγε μοι, [μάκαρ,] ἄ[ρμο]νία <v> μελῶν.
 4 σοὶ γάρ με λυρόκτυπ[ος εὖ]κόμης
 5 τὸν ἀοιδὸν ἐθρέψατο μούνῳ.
 6 [σοὶ] βάρβιτα, σοὶ κίθαριν δονῶ
 7 παρὰ βωμὸν [ἄθικ]τον Ὑλάτα.
 8 σοὶ στησάμενος χορόν, ἀ[γκαλῶ]
 9 τὸ Φορῶ[ν]ικὸν αἶμα, τὸ Περσέως
 10 οἷ[ον πόλιν] ἀκροτάτην λαχόν.
 11 ὑπὸ σαῖσι ταγαῖσ[ιν ὑπ]᾿ ἄδῳ,
 12 ἰοβόστ[ρυχε], καλλικόμη, μάκαρ,
 13 Βει[θύ]νιε, π[αρθενοπ]ῶπα,
 14 χρυσοπτερύγου γόνε μα[τέ]ρος.

1 suppl. Lebek 110 and no. 13 (ὑπόχθονα vel ὑπὸ χθόνα) || 2 suppl. Lebek 110 || 3 suppl. Pöhlmann || 4 suppl. Lebek 117 || 6 suppl. Lebek 117 || 7 suppl. Mitford 197 || 8 suppl. Lebek 120 || 10 suppl. Lebek 124 || 11 suppl. Lebek 126 || 12: suppl. Mitford 197, see Lebek 105 || 13 Βει[θύ]νιε suppl. Mitford 197 | π[αρθενοπ]ῶπα Merkelbach bei Lebek 127 n. 44: π[αρχαριτ]ῶπα Lebek 127 || 14 μα[τέ]ρος vel Μα[ιάδ]ος suppl. Lebek 128.

Lebek presents a German translation of his reconstruction,¹⁰ which here follows in an English version:

We praise Adonis, who is dwelling under the earth,
 the dead, whom we formerly called Antinoos.
 Inspire in me, [You blessed, the harmonic sound] of melodies.
 For You only, namely, the Lyre player with the beautiful curls
 has brought me up as singer.
 For You I let sound the barbitos, for You the cithara
 near the untouchable altar of Hylatas, the Apollon in the woods.
 For You I have established a chorus. Now I summon
 the blood of Phoronicos, the tribe of Perseus,
 to which only a town on the very heights was allotted.
 Following Your advice I sing to the Cithara,
 You blessed with curls of violets, with the beautiful hair,
 coming from Bithynia, with the face of a virgin,
 son of a mother with golden wings.

10 Cf. Lebek 1973, 130.

In his commentary Lebek has given all of the necessary information for the understanding of this *encomium*, a selection of which I include here.

In verses 1-2 the poet evidently addresses the dead Antinous, who in Courion was worshipped after his death as the new Adonis, identified with Osiris. It is interesting that there was a centre of worship of Adonis/Osiris in Amathous, 20 km east of Courion. But the dead Antinous was identified with other gods also:¹¹ an inscription from Rome attests that the worldwide association of Dionysiac artists (Ἀδριανῆ σύνδοξ), which had its centre in Rome since Trajan and Hadrian,¹² worshipped Antinous as the new Hermes.¹³ Lebek has also scrutinized this possibility, which would require that line 5 (Ἰεον ἄγγελον τοῖ) also be integrated into the reconstruction of the beginning of the *encomium*, but decided convincingly in favour of the worship of Antinous as the new Adonis and places the beginning of the *encomium* at line 6 of the inscription.¹⁴

In v. 3 the poet-composer asks for inspiration. The proposed reconstruction follows the line of thought given by Lebek's translation: "Gib mir ein, [Göttlicher, harmonischen Klang] der Melodien". But such a supplement is possible only if ἀ[ρμσ]νία<ν> μελῶν is read instead of ἀ[ρμσν]ία μελῶν, which appears clearly on the inscription (see Fig. 1).¹⁵ For the treatment of nasals see Mayser-Schmoll.¹⁶

In vv. 4-10 the poet-composer addresses the dead Antinous/Adonis with the threefold anaphora of σοι. He was brought up by the lyre-player Apollo as citharode for Antinous only (vv. 4f.), he plays the barbiton and the cithara near the altar of Apollo Hylatas for Antinous (vv. 6f.), and having brought together a chorus for Antinous/Adonis he summoned the inhabitants of Courion, to whom the hints about the clan of Phoroneus and the tribe of Perseus allude.¹⁷

Vv. 11-14 resume with ὑπὸ σαῖσι ταγαῖσι[v v. 3: the poet-composer sings a citharody inspired by Antinous/Adonis, refers to his native place (Bithynium = *Claudiopolis* Bithyniae), a common practice in poetry composed for a god, and praises the blessed deceased: his beautiful curls, his virginlike face and the son of a mother with golden wings, who might be, according to Lebek,¹⁸ Iris, the

11 For the identification of Antinous with other gods see Meyer 1991, 163-73, where eighteen different cases of identification of Antinous are attested. Antinoos = Adonis: E 1, pp. 163-73; Antinoos = Eros: E10, p. 168; Antinoos = Hermes: E 13, pp. 169f.

12 Poland 1934, 2482-4.

13 IG 14.978a = Moretti, *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae* 1, no. 143.

14 Lebek 1973, 108-12.

15 At the beginning of line 9 of the inscription, Mitford (1971, 197) reads traces of α or λ and, after a lacuna of three letters, traces of υι before α μελῶν.

16 Mayser-Schmoll 1970, § 40, 169 ("Schwund von ν im Auslaut"), § 48, 188 ("Vereinfachung geminierten Konsonanten"), § 53, 204 ("Assimilation von ν- zu -μ vor Labialen").

17 Lebek 1973, 123-5, about the mythic Argivian founders of Courion, the town on the heights.

18 Lebek 1973, 128f.

mother of Eros. The hidden apostrophe of Antinous as Eros might be an ingenious conclusion to an *encomium* on Hadrian's παιδικά.

The text of the *encomium* in Lebek's version provides a picture of the Antinous Festival in the sanctuary of Apollo Hylatas, 3 km east of Courion. From 1934 to 1954 archaeologists from the University of Pennsylvania excavated a holy precinct there, and this site represents the condition of the sanctuary in the second century AD, in Hadrianic times.¹⁹ It is divided by a paved way, the Holy Street, which leads to the reconstructed temple of Apollo. On the right side of the Holy Street there is the archaic *temenos* with a round altar of Apollo Hylates, which was 'untouchable': anyone who touched this altar, was thrown from a cliff into the sea near Courion.²⁰ On the left side of the Holy Street there is another archaic sanctuary which was excavated from 1978-1987; this is known as the 'Round building'—a circle with a diameter of 18 metres, surrounded by a paved way, with seven interior pits, which were cut into the rock.²¹ This area must have been the locality for a Antinous Festival in Courion, as the very altar of Apollo Hylatas was ἄθικτος. V. 7 of the *encomium* (παρὰ βωμὸν [ἄθικ]τον Ὑλάτα) matches this scenario well.

At this place our poet-composer praised Antinous through his citharody, established a chorus, and with them performed the remaining parts of the festival, which are unknown to us, before the inhabitants of Courion. After that he took care for an inscription in remembrance of the Antinous Festival (see ἀνέθηκε[line 5]). This inscription was found in 25 fragments scattered over the whole *temenos* and is now kept in the museum in Episkopi.²² This accumulation of important functions led Lebek to recognize in the poet-composer a professional musician, a Greek citharode.²³

The *encomium* on Antinous, as Lebek has clearly shown, presents many affinities with the poems of Mesomedes. The favourite metres of Mesomedes²⁴ are apocrota (~~~~~ -- ~) alternating arbitrarily with paroemiacs (~~~~~ --), or pure apocrota.²⁵ The *encomium* uses apocrota in vv. 1-4, 6, 8-10, 12 and 14 and paroemiacs in vv. 5, 7, 11, 13. At the verse-ends *hiatus* and *brevis in longo* are used by Mesomedes and the author of the *encomium*. The deviations from the strict metrical pattern familiar in other poets of apocrota

19 Lebek 1973, 101f.

20 Strabo 14,6,3; see Lebek 1973, 119.

21 Soren 1987, 5 fig. 1, 31f. figs 13f., 35 fig. 18, 37 fig. 20, 44-52, figs 25f.; see Soren-James 1988, 41-6, coloured photos before p. 83, after p. 130.

22 Mitford 1971, 195f., Lebek 1973, 102.

23 Lebek 1973, 132.

24 For the metrics of Mesomedes see still Horna 1928, 18f. and *passim*.

25 Apocrota and paroemiacs: see Mesom. 2b, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11; pure apocrota see 7, 12; together 125 lines.

(e.g. Lucian, *Tragodopodagra*) are rare in Mesomedes: the second anapaest is replaced by a spondee in 8,15 and 12,9, the third in 8,7. In one instance the first anapaest is replaced by an iambus (3,13 ζυγὸν μέτα), a deviation which finds a parallel in the *Physis Hymnus* of Mesomedes (4,7 δέχει, 4,15 σὺ δ' ὦ), where a spondee is replaced by an iambus. Another instance (12,8 κόρη) disappears with a conjecture of Horna, which happily restores the metre and the Doric dialect together (κούρα). As there are no instances of these two deviations in the *encomium*, Ianna Regenauer thinks that we have another author who, when using the metrics of Mesomedes, adheres to them with more strictness.²⁶ But given the fact that 125 verses of Mesomedes are compared with 14 verses of the *encomium*, these differences prove nothing.

The only really interesting cases are the last verses of Mesom. 6,16 (εὐκέρω θύσω), 9,15 (ἔρωτικῶν ὀμμάτων) and 11,7 (ἀφίπτασαι, κώνωψ), where the last short of the third anapaest is replaced by a long syllable. The paroemiacs of Mesom. 6 and 11 end therefore as ◡◡—, the apocroton of Heitsch 9 ends as ◡◡◡◡. Wilamowitz has eliminated all these anomalies by conjecture.²⁷ But Horna reminded Wilamowitz of the 'impure endings', which are as old as Alcaeus (*BKT* V 2.7 φειδόμεθ' ὥς κηρόν, a slowed-down asclepiadean: —◡◡◡◡)²⁸ and explained these cases as 'ritardando'.²⁹

Slowed-down endings of apocrota and paroemiacs are extremely rare. They are attested in Mesomedes only at the places cited above, and what they have in common is that they appear at the end of a poem. But the slowed-down version of the paroemiac appears again in the middle of the *encomium*, at the end of v. 7 ([ἄθικ]τον Ὑλάτα), where the Doric genitive of Apollo Hylates had to be accommodated. Lebek thinks that in doing so the poet-composer followed the example of the poems of Mesomedes.³⁰ This opinion presupposes an incredible insight of the poet-composer into the metrics of Mesomedes. It is much easier to assume that Mesomedes wrote the *encomium* himself.³¹ His use of the 'ritardando' in v. 7 might be explained by its position in the very middle of the poem and the prominence of the local deity.

Several parallels of vocabulary and content also point to Mesomedes as author of the *encomium*. They were already recognized by Lebek and aptly summarized by Regenauer.³²

26 Regenauer 2016, 19, following Lebek 1973, 131.

27 Wilamowitz 1921, 599, 601, 603.

28 Wilamowitz 1921, 91f., 411f.

29 Horna 1928, 19.

30 Lebek 1973, 119f.

31 Lebek 1973, 129 no. 48 and 131 no. 49 comes near to such an assumption.

32 Regenauer 2016, 19f.

V. 6 κίθαριν δονῶ recalls Mesom. 1a.4 ἐμάς φρένας δονεῖτω.³³ V. 14 γόνε μα[τέ]ρος finds a parallel in Mesom. 1b.8 Λατοῦς γόνε.³⁴ The threefold asyndetic anaphora of σοὶ (vv. 4, 6, 8) reminds one of the asyndeta in Mesom. 6.7f. οὐ βουκόλος, οὐ γένος ὀρνέων, / οὐ μηκάσι σύρισε ποιμήν.³⁵ The establishment of a chorus for the god (v. 8 σοὶ στησάμενος χορόν) recalls the appearance of a chorus at the end of Mesom. 3.16-20,³⁶ but also of 2.17f. σοὶ μὲν χορὸς ... ἀστέρων... χορεύει³⁷ and 6.10 χορὸς ... ἀστέρων.³⁸ However, Regenauer adopts the opinion of Lebek, who believes that a Greek citharode composed the *encomium* according to the model of the poems of Mesomedes known to him.

Lanna too adopts the opinion of Lebek and tries to strengthen it with observations concerning style. With Mitford she recognizes in the dedicant of the inscription a Roman *legatus pro praetore*: “come si può leggere ancora sulla pietra, il dedicante era un πρεσβυτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος di Cipro”.³⁹ This is not true: on the stone there remains only]πρεσβευτή[ς ca. 16 Κύ]πρου. The stylistic observations of Lanna are not founded:⁴⁰ she thinks that v. 8 σοὶ στησάμενος χορόν is “prosastico”, compared with Mesom. 2.17f. and 6.10, without consideration of the difference of the respective topics. In v. 9 (τὸ Φορῶ[ν]ικὸν αἶμα, τὸ Περσέως) she misses the “sottile raffinatezza di costruzione”, without considering that local presuppositions had to be accommodated. The sequence of vocatives in vv. 12-14 seems to her “molto lontano dal gusto di Mesomede”, though she recognizes a certain similarity between v. 14 and Mesom. 4.2. At the end of this series of subjective impressions there is a misunderstanding of Lebek: his sentence “es würde ebensowenig zu der unkomplizierten und durchsichtigen Ausdrucksweise des Mesomedes passen, die doch vermutlich das Muster für den Antinoos-Hymnus abgegeben hat”⁴¹ is directed against a supplement of Mitford and not against the Antinous Hymn itself.

Considering the question of authorship of the *encomium* we must not forget that only two poems of Mesomedes are ascribed to him: the apocrota and paroemiacs of no. 12 Heitsch, and the trochaic dimeters of no. 13 Heitsch, both transmitted by the *Greek Anthology*. The other poems ascribed to Mesomedes today are interconnected by many details of transmission and metrical and

33 Lanna 2013, 66.

34 Lebek 1973, 128.

35 Lebek 1973, 128.

36 Lebek 1973, 133.

37 Regenauer 2006, 19.

38 Lanna 2013, 66.

39 Lanna 2013, 64, 422.

40 Lanna 2013, 66.

41 Lebek 1973, 126.

musical evidence.⁴² Regenauer has again demonstrated that the metrical and prosodic affinities of these poems with Mesom. 12 and 13 allow us to ascribe the other authorless poems to Mesomedes as well.⁴³

If the *encomium* to Antinous had been transmitted by manuscript without an indication of the author, the testimony of the *Suda* together with the aforementioned affinities of metrical technique, vocabulary and content of the *encomium* with the Mesomedean *corpus* would without a doubt have led scholars to the conclusion that what we have in the inscription Courion no. 104 is the *encomium* of Mesomedes on Antinous, which is attested by the *Suda*. The reason for lingering doubts is the fragmentary prosaic dedication of Courion no. 104 and the interpretation given by the *editio princeps*, which has led the research in the wrong direction entirely. The dedication without supplements (see Fig. 2) reads:

1	[Ἀγα]θή ♠ Τύχη
2]πρεσβευτή[ς
3	Κύ]πρου Ἀντινώω[
4]σθεῖς ὑπὸ αὐτ[
5]σμα ἀνέθηκε
6]εὼν ἄγγελον το[

Mitford's incorrect interpretation of the dedication is displayed in his heading: "No.104. Antinous, the favourite of Hadrian, honoured in a dactylic hymn by a *legatus provinciae*. AD 130/1". Accordingly, he supplements the dedication as follows:

2	[— — — ca. 7 — — —]πρεσβευτή[ς
3	[καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Κύ]πρου Ἀντινώω[
4	[— — ca.11 — — χαρισ]σθεῖς ὑπὸ αὐτ[
5	[τοῦτο τὸ κιθάρι]σμα ἀνέθηκε.
6	[Μοῦσα, λαβ' ἀργαλ.]έων ἄγγελον τόν[δε

Lines 2-5 are the prosaic dedication of Mitford's alleged "dactylic" hymn (line 6 ff.). Yet the *encomium* begins, as Lebek has demonstrated, with line 7 and consists of apocrota and paroemiacs. According to Mitford, lines 1-5 tell about the *legatus pro praetore* of the province Cyprus, who had received a favour (χαρισ]σθεῖς) from Antinous, and in turn dedicated a *citharisma* to him after his death. But nowhere in the inscriptions of Courion is an ἀντιστράτηγος attested.⁴⁴ Of course, πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος (= *legatus pro praetore*) is the usual title

42 See Pöhlmann 2017.

43 Regenauer 2016, 61-64.

44 See the indices in Mitford 1971.

for a Roman official.⁴⁵ Lebek⁴⁶ pointed to an inscription of Cyprus from 29/30 AD, which mentions a proconsul (ἀνθύπατος), his legate (πρεσβευτής) and his quaestor (ταμίης).⁴⁷ Inscriptions quoted by Mitford attest several Roman officials, but not an ἀντιστράτηγος of Cyprus.⁴⁸ Moreover, Lebek has shown that the author of the dedication and the *encomium* must have been a Greek citharode (see above p. 132). Mitford's κιθάρι]σµα does not cover all of the activities of Lebek's Greek citharode. Perhaps ἀγώνι]σµα is appropriate. Evidently we must propose another story which explains the dedication better.

As Meyer has clearly shown in his monograph on Antinous,⁴⁹ immediately after the death of Antinous many towns, mainly Greek ones, competed for the permission of Hadrian to institute Antinous Festivals. The first were the citizens of Thessalonike, who according to IG X 2.1 no. 14 asked Hadrian for and obtained permission to establish an Antinous Cult.⁵⁰ Such a scheme carried out through official channels would make Lebek's Greek citharode an ambassador, who asked Hadrian for permission to establish the cult of Antinous as the new Adonis in Courion (see above p. 131). Of course, this excludes the possibility that Mesomedes was author of the *encomium*.

But it is possible to suggest another scenario: Hadrian was a great benefactor of Cyprus. Mitford has convincingly demonstrated that Hadrian had rebuilt Salamis, devastated by the Jewish insurrection of 116 AD.⁵¹ Thus, the inhabitants of Courion could reasonably hope to be granted permission to establish an Antinous Cult in the sanctuary of Apollo Hylatas. Of course, there might have been an embassy to Hadrian from Courion, of which we know nothing. If this happened soon after the death of Antinous (130 AD), Hadrian, and perhaps his poetic entourage Pancrates and Mesomedes, were still in Alexandria.⁵² Hadrian, in turn, might have charged⁵³ his intimate friend, the citharode Mesomedes, with composing the necessary poetry and music and travelling as his agent to Courion⁵⁴ in order to institute the first Antinous Festival as a sign

45 See LSJ⁹ s.v. πρέσβια, e.g. IG 14.1121 (Nemi, first c. BC).

46 Lebek 2018, by letter.

47 OGIS II no. 583, from Lapethus (Lapta).

48 Mitford 1971, 198 no. 1.

49 Meyer 1991, 194-8: Maßnahmen des Kaisers; 254-60: Agone und Mysterien; 255-7: Mesomedes, Pancrates and the *encomium* Courion no. 104.

50 Lebek 1973, 136 no. 60. had already mentioned this inscription. See now Meyer 1991, 195 with new literature.

51 Mitford 1971, 197f.

52 See Lambert 1984, 153f.

53 Line 4 κελευ]σθεις ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ following Lebek 1973, 136 no. 62 „ob man an einen Befehl des Autokrators ... denkt“.

54 Πρεσβευτής may denote simply “agent”; see LSJ⁹ (e.g. Dem. 45.64).

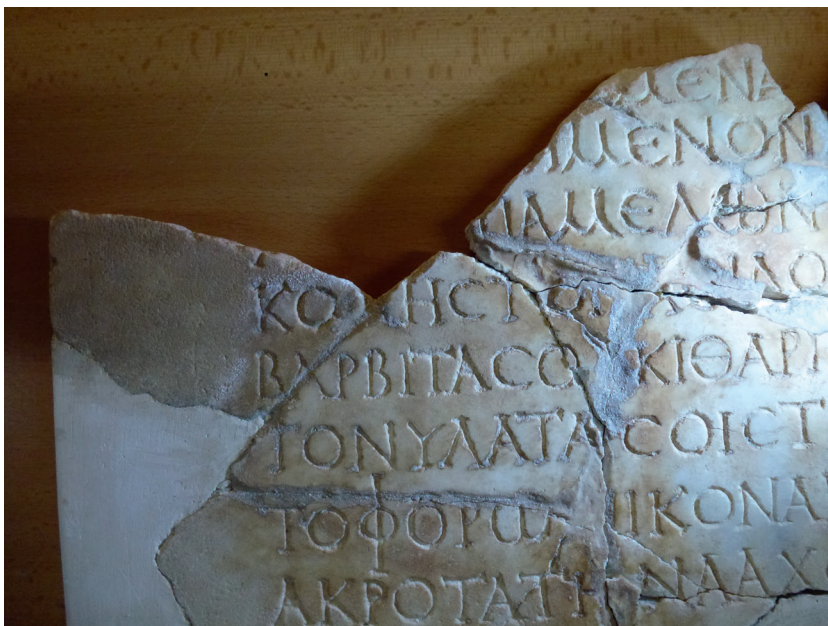


FIGURE 1 Courion no. 104, lines 7-14

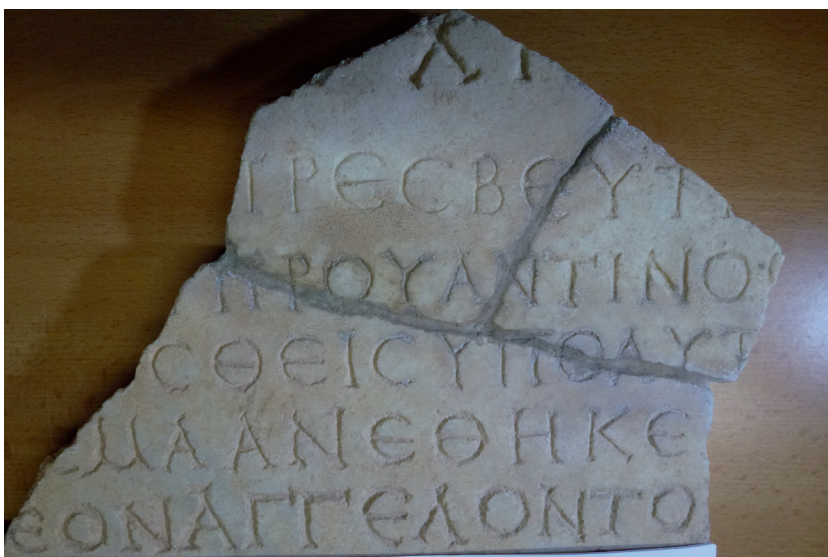


FIGURE 2 Courion no. 104, lines 1-6

of his benevolence,⁵⁵ having furnished Mesomedes with the necessary money. This scenario is as hypothetical as Mitford's, but it explains the evidence better and can *exempli gratia* be reconciled with the fragments of the dedication.

Lebek, after having kindly read this paper, accepts Mesomedes as author of the *encomium* to Antinous. As far as the prosaic dedication is concerned, following *OGIS* 583 (see above) and 486.5f., he proposes another scenario: the *legatus proconsulis pro praetore* of Cyprus, inspired by a dream, dedicated an inscription in the sanctuary of Apollo Hylatas, on which the *encomium* of Mesomedes to the deceased Antinous was engraved, after its performance in the sanctuary together with a prosaic foreword. Lebek has given supplements to this foreword, which are recorded below. Of course, this scenario remains as doubtful as mine above, given the lack of metrical or formulaic clues. But both scenarios can be reconciled with Mesomedes as author of the *encomium* on Antinous, which has been proved by independent philological and metrical arguments.

- 1 [Ἀγα]θή ♠ Τύχη
- 2 [Μεσομήδης Κιθαρῳδός] πρεσβευτή[ς Ἄδ]
- 3 [ριανοῦ ἐν Κουρίῳ Κύ]πρου Ἀντινόῳ[.]
- 4 [... .. . κελευ]σθεῖς ὑπὸ αὐτ[οῦ]
- 5 [... .. . ἀγώνι]σμα ἀνέθηκε[....]
- 6 [... .. εὐνοίας ν]έον ἄγγελον τό[νδε]

1 for [Ἀγα]θή ♠ Τύχη see Mitford 1971, 196 (photo). Today missing (see Fig. 2) || 2 suppl. Pöhlmann : [- 17 -] πρεσβευτή[ς Lebek || 3 suppl Pöhlmann : [καὶ ἀντιστρατηγὸς Κύ]πρου Lebek || 4 [- 10 - κελευ]σθεῖς ὑπὸ αὐτ[οῦ] suppl. Pöhlmann : καθ' ὕπνον *vel* κατ' ὄναρ κελευ]σθεῖς Lebek || 5 ἀγώνι]σμα[suppl. Pöhlmann : [τόδε Μεσομήδους ᾄ]σμα ἀνέθηκε[ν εἰς Lebek || 6 suppl. Pöhlmann : [τὸ πένθους εἶναι ν]έον ἄγγελον το[ῦτον Lebek.

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55 Line 6 Εὐνοίας ν]έον ἄγγελον τόνδε, following Lebek 1973, 136 no. 62 ἄγγελος εὐσεβίης.

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BRILL

Classical Musical Imagery in Eugenius Vulgarius' *Carmina Figurata*

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Abstract

At the beginning of the tenth century, Vulgarius wrote some poems for Pope Sergius III. One of these is set out in the shape of a psaltery and is followed by a short explanatory essay. This article reconstructs the cultural context of this pattern poem and sheds light on the presence and significance of music in this text. First, I shall address the visual appearance of this poem, since the shape of the text imitates a musical instrument. Secondly, I shall examine the textual content of the poem, which sings the praises of the Pope and ultimately reveals the true meaning hidden in the name 'Sergius'. Subsequently, I shall examine the content of the explanatory essay, which clarifies the Boethian musical proportions on which the entire construction of the pattern poem is based. Finally, I shall address the political 'double meaning' of this poem, which seems to hide an invective against the Pope.

Keywords

Vulgarius – *carmina figurata* – psaltery – pattern poems – Boethius – musical proportions – hexameter – classical metre

• • •

To my Parents and their first Boethian precept for numbers counting
Ut numerus, qui, cum a finita incipiat unitate, crescendi non habet finem

BOETH. *Mus.* 1.6

1 Biographical and Literary Sketch

The biographical information on Eugenius Vulgarius is rather scanty:¹ he lived between the second half of the ninth and the first half of the tenth century, probably in the south of Italy and, specifically, in Naples.² This view originates in the fact that Vulgarius dedicated many poems to well-known local personalities, including Bishop Peter of Salerno (887-914),³ Atenulf II, Prince of Capua and Benevento (900-910),⁴ and Bishop Athanasius III of Naples (ca. 907-960).⁵

With regard to Vulgarius' personal relationship with Pope Sergius III (904-911), the only reliable information we have is that the Pope wanted him in Rome. According to Dümmler⁶ (the first scholar who produced an edition of Vulgarius' works in 1866) and Winterfeld⁷ (editor of the second edition, published in 1899), the Pope requested Vulgarius' presence in Rome because he had supported the political views expressed by Pope Formosus, who would be declared illegitimate by his opponents and successors, including Sergius himself.⁸ Alternatively, according to Francesco Novati⁹ it is possible that the Pope wanted Vulgarius in Rome because of his excellent rhetorical skills and his high reputation as a grammarian.

The Pope's request is attested indirectly by Vulgarius' own reply.¹⁰ However, the meaning of the end of his letter is unclear, since the only manuscript that preserves it contains a lacuna right before the expression *cellulam meam*. According to Dümmler, Vulgarius was asking permission to stay in the cell he had occupied since taking refuge in a monastery; by contrast, Winterfeld maintains that Vulgarius asked to be set free from the cell in which Sergius had already imprisoned him. Finally, according to Novati, Vulgarius is asking permission

1 Cf. Braga 1993, 505-9.

2 Cf. Gnocchi 1995, 65-75.

3 Eugenius Vulgarius (hereafter EuV) 3.12. Cf. Valtorta 2006.

4 EuV 3.23.

5 EuV 3.13. The poem dedicated to him consists of ten lines borrowed from Boeth. *Cons.* 3.5.5. Boethius is not the only Classical author mentioned by Vulgarius. As noted by Braga, who summarises the results of Schramm's studies, Vulgarius' original approach depends on the fact that he does not hark back to the world of the Carolingian renaissance but rather refers to the spiritual and cultural tradition of Cassiodorus, Boethius and Gregory the Great: cf. Braga 1993, 508, especially with regard to the poem *Roma caput mundi* (EuV 3.38), dedicated to Pope Sergius III.

6 Cf. Dümmler 1866, 39-46, 117-56.

7 Cf. Winterfeld 1899, 406-12.

8 On Vulgarius' writings in defence of Formosus, cf. n. 14.

9 Cf. Novati 1926, 226, 233, 236 ff., 247, 264-70.

10 EuV 3.6.

not to go to Rome, in order to devote himself entirely to his studies in the solitude of his monastery cell.¹¹ In fact, in a letter sent by Vulgarius to Bishop Vitale, whom he called upon for help,¹² we read that he asked not to go to Rome out of love for his country and because he was afraid of the damaging influence of the questionable life of the Roman court. Therefore, Novati argues that Vulgarius' refusal did not depend on fear of political repercussions or outright revenge on the part of Sergius. Unfortunately, the complete lack of information about subsequent events does not allow us to know for sure whether Vulgarius ever went to Rome or rather stayed in his 'little cell'.

Luckily, however, we have more information about Vulgarius' poetic production. The whole corpus of his works has been transmitted in only one manuscript from the tenth century, which allegedly belonged to Emperor Otto III and is generally known as the Bamberg manuscript (Staatsbibliothek, Canon. 1 P.III.20).¹³ In addition to Vulgarius' texts,¹⁴ this composite codex contains Ausilius' writings in support of Pope Formosus' political views¹⁵ as well as a letter

11 Cf. Braga 1993, 506.

12 EuV 3.7.

13 For a description of the manuscript and a reconstruction of its history, cf. Gamberini 2005.

14 Vulgarius' literary production is quite varied and comprises a wide number of genres and topics: A) Writings in defence of Formosus' political views: *De causa Formosiana libellus*, ff. 88r-101v; *Explanatio sermonum*, f. 6rv; *In defensionem Formosi papae*, ff. 103v-114v, 2r-11r. B) Miscellaneous writings: *Sermones interpretati*, f. 7v; *Sermonum interpretatio*, f. 11v; *Species comice* (?), ff. 8r-10r; *Usque in quibus locis ante diluvium venerint*, f. 11r. C) Letters: *Ad Sergium papam* (inc.: *Videtur corporis huius scematis dispositio*), ff. 110v-111r; *Ad Sergium papam* (inc.: *Lucida dum current annosi sidera mundi*), ff. 111v-112v; *Ad Vitalem episcopum*, f. 113rv; *Ad Theodorum*, ff. 113v-114v. D) Poems: *Ad Sergium papam versus*, f. 111r; *Metrum pheregratum ad Sergium papam*, f. 111r; *Ad Sergium papam metrum saphicum*, f. 111rv; *Ad Sergium papam metrum parhemiaticum*, f. 111v; *Ad Vitalem episcopum versus*, f. 113v; *Ad Benedictum monachum*, f. 114v; *fragmenta carminis*, f. 114v; *Metrum iambicum tetrametrum ad Petrum Salerne urbis episcopum*, f. 114v; *Crux* (ICL 2028), f. 2r; *Crux* (ICL 2599), f. 2r; *Pyramida ad Leonem imperatorem*, ff. 2v-3v; *Ad Leonem imperatorem metrum anapesticum isosyllabum*, f. 3v; *Metrum asclepiadeum ad Leonem imperatorem*, ff. 3v-4r; *Metrum adonium ad Leonem imperatorem*, f. 4r; *De Deo omnipotente*, f. 4r; *De thesin et hypothesin*, f. 4v; *De syllogismis dialecticae ipothecaliter*, f. 4v; *Ad Atenolfum principem Beneventane urbis*, ff. 4v-5r; *Ad Iohannem levitam*, ff. 6v-7r; *Ad Gregorium consulem*, f. 7r; *Versus et interpretatio sermonum*, f. 7rv; *Ad Gregorium magistrum militum*, f. 7v; *Versus et explanatio*, ff. 7v-8r; *Metrum parhemiaticum tragicum*, f. 10rv; *In laudem filii Dei*, ff. 10v-11r; *Carmen*, f. 12r; *Carmen figuratum*, ff. 12v-13r; *Carmen*, f. 13r.

15 *De ordinationibus a Formoso papa factis*; *In defensionem sacrae ordinationis papae Formosi*; *Libellus in defensionem Stephani episcopi et praefatae ordinationis*.

by Guiseldardus (a deacon of Beneventus)¹⁶ and a poem entitled *Versus de Gregorio et Ottone Augusto*, written by Leo of Vercelli.¹⁷

2 The Role of Poem 37 in Vulgarius' Celebratory Poetry

Vulgarius' poems stand out because of his extensive use of classical metres, ranging from simpler verses like hexameters, anapaests, and iambic dimeters to much more refined forms such as Pherecrateans, Sapphics, Paroemiacs, Amoeboeans, Asclepiadeans, and Adonians. His poems had a largely celebratory function: they are dedicated to distinguished Neapolitan figures as well as more prominent individuals, such as the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI¹⁸ and Pope Sergius III, who is the addressee of two of Vulgarius' letters¹⁹ and six of his celebratory poems.²⁰ One of these, *Poem 37*, presents a *carmen figuratum* in hexameters and is followed by a short explanatory essay (cf. Figure 1).²¹ This composition as a whole lends itself to a variety of interpretations, which we will discuss in the following sections.

¹⁶ *Epistola Rodelgrimi et Guiseldardi*.

¹⁷ Roberto Gamberini (2005, 591) argues that Leo of Vercelli (965 ca.-1026) had access to this manuscript, which belonged to Otto III, and added his own text to the codex, most likely writing it himself on an empty leaf; alternatively, he could have supervised the person who copied it. Leo of Vercelli was the chaplain and a trusted confidant of Otto III: cf. Bisanti 2010, 93-5. The presence of a possible autograph by Leo of Vercelli in a manuscript containing Vulgarius and Ausilius' poems is very interesting in connection with the question of the relationship between Leo and Vulgarius. According to Gamberini (2005, 592), however, this examination is useful to shed some light on the history of a manuscript, but leads to a dead end if one tries to employ it to better understand the literary personality of the Bishop of Vercelli. Leo employs the collection of the Neapolitan poet only as a readily-accessible repertoire of poetic materials. In Leo's work there are some words borrowed from Vulgarius but there are no traces of his poetics. Leo of Vercelli did not need Vulgarius' speeches of praise, because he is actually interested in political polemics. A man of his temperament could not avoid taking a clear stance and he did so without reservations: with actions and with his writings. Later on we will see that Vulgarius' political polemic does not only characterise his writings in support of Formosus; it is even clearer in Poem 37, which is dedicated to Pope Sergius and seems to convey two different messages at the same time: flattering praise and a strongly critical attack.

¹⁸ Vulgarius dedicated four poems to the emperor (EuV 3.16-9), the most famous of which is a *carmen figuratum* in the shape of a pyramid (EuV 3.16).

¹⁹ EuV 3.2, 6.

²⁰ EuV 3.2B, 3-5, 37-8.

²¹ EuV 3.37.

Vulgarius' decision to compose a poem representing a musical instrument harks back to the late-antique tradition of the so-called *carmina figurata* and, especially, to Publilius Optatianus Porphyrius (fourth century AD), who wrote many pattern poems including one in the shape of a syrinx (Poem 27) and one in the shape of an organ (Poem 20).²⁵ The latter is particularly significant for our present purposes, since it presents many similarities to Vulgarius' poem.

First of all, Poem 20 is a celebratory ode that Optatian dedicated to the Emperor Constantine in an attempt to win his favour and be allowed to return to his home country, after being exiled. Perhaps Vulgarius was in a similar situation with Pope Sergius, because of the support he had previously lent to Pope Formosus and his politics, but we are not in a position to tell if he wrote the psaltery-shaped poem as an implicit bid for pardon. Be that as it may, we certainly know that both poems celebrate the highest political and religious authority of the time: the Emperor in the case of Optatian, the Pope in that of Vulgarius.

The reference to Optatian's poem is particularly relevant because of the special genre of poem he chose. In fact, both Optatian and Vulgarius resort to pattern poetry in order to represent a musical instrument: Optatian depicts an organ, the acoustic symbol of the highest political power in Imperial Rome, while Vulgarius sketches a ten-stringed psaltery, the biblical instrument *par excellence*.

2.2 *The Benevolent Message Offered in the Versus Intexti*

The comparison with Optatian's poems extends to the use of so-called *versus intexti*, i.e. verses that could be deciphered by following a specific path marked by a different colour in the text: while the poem as a whole was written in black ink, the letters that composed the *versus intexti* were written in red ink, which made them stand out against the background of the white parchment. The pattern of the rubricated letters reveals Vulgarius' use of different techniques of poetic composition, including not only acrostics but also mesostics and telestics.²⁶ These verses celebrated the dedicatee of the poem. For instance, in Poem 20 Optatian sent the Emperor the following message:

AUGUSTO VICTORE IU VAT RATA REDDERE VOTA

Since Augustus is victorious, it is a pleasure to offer him the appropriate
congratulations

25 Cf. Dessì 2008, 63-72; Polara 1973; 1991; 2004.

26 Cf. Dessì 2008, 65-6.

On the other hand, Vulgarius employed the letters of the acrostic together with the mesostic produced in verses 4 and 5 and the final telestic in order to compose the following verse:

SALVE SERGI PAPA SUMME RERUM

Hail, Pope Sergius, the highest of all creatures

In this greeting, the Pope is defined as *summe rerum*, literally ‘the highest of all things’, an expression that is clearly appropriate for a ‘divine’ figure—a characterisation that Vulgarius explicitly applies to the Pope in the body of the poem.

2.3 *The Literal Meaning of the Poem: the Poetic Praise of Sergius*

Having perceived the visual meaning of the poem and the benevolent message spelled by the combination of acrostics, mesostics and telestics, the dedicatee of the poem would have read the text in full:

Because of a single gesture, you are said to be the one and only by your
children²⁷

You who have been made glorious by a truly divine act.

O light, fire of Dawn, may you sink down into the world of the dead²⁸

27 In keeping with the standard late-antique scansion of dactylic hexameters—according to which the verse must end with a dactylic dimeter catalectic, whose second foot is disyllabic and whose last syllable is anceps, and shows a correspondence between metrical ictus and grammatical accents—the verb *diceris* must be interpreted as present indicative (*dicēris*) and not as a future tense (*dicēris*). While the future tense would have supported an interpretation of the word *natis* as ‘successors’, the present tense rather suggests the meaning ‘children’. Is this an allusion to Sergius’ illegitimate offspring and his union with Marozia? Claudia Gnocchi (2000, 62) argues that the historian Liutprand talks about an illicit affair between Sergius, who was far from young at this stage, and Marozia, the daughter of the noble Roman Theophylact, who supported his election. This affair allegedly led to the birth of the future pope John IX. The relationship between Sergius and Marozia is substantiated by the evidence of some pontifical catalogues.

28 Stefano Pittaluga, whom I would like to thank for many useful suggestions about the interpretation of this text, takes *necron* to be a Greek genitive plural (*νεκρῶν*) and not an adjective that qualifies *orbem*. Perhaps Vulgarius is hinting at the deaths of John IX, Benedict IV, Leo V and Christophorus, since Sergius always considered their elections to be illegitimate? On the accusation levelled by Ausilius and Vulgarius that Sergius was implicated in the deaths of Leo V and Christophorus, see Longo 2000 and Loré 2000. As noted by Longo 2005, Duchesne, reminding us that no specific acts may be ascribed to this Pope, underlines how the term ‘emigrat’, employed by Flodoard, seems to indicate that Leo V died of natural causes. However, we know that he was imprisoned and most likely died in prison in 905, when Sergius had already been elected Pope; and Sergius condemned to the same fate also Leo’s adversary, Christophorus.

So that you, who are the one and the greatest, rightly should not bear
 being second [to anyone].²⁹
 You shine forth in the world like a torch with glistening brightness,
 'Sergius' is the name that the fate granted you and by chance
 the meaning of the combination of its letters is 'joys of the earth'.
 For it is clear that the fourth letter together with the second sounds
 'GE', and the fifth is to be connected with the third, first and sixth:
 Through you, divine laughter shines on the earth.³⁰

This poem begins by characterising Sergius as divine and continues by establishing an oxymoronic opposition between the divine world Sergius belongs to, which is full of light, and the dark world of the dead. He is the one and only Pope, he is the one who brings light and joy, and destiny marked him for this role through his name (*in nomen omen*): in fact, the anagram of his name contains in itself the auspicious expression *ge* (i.e. $\tau\eta\gamma\eta$) *risus*, a depiction that is spelled out even more explicitly in the last verse of the poem: 'through you, divine laughter shines on the earth'.³¹

29 According to Pittaluga, *diadem* must be understood as the accusative singular form of *dias*. Therefore, this sentence would comprise an infinitive clause governed by an implied perfect subjunctive: *ne ... tu passus [sis te] diadem [esse]*. Also Roccaro (1999, 220) takes *diadem* as accusative of *dias*, which is used as a noun, while he underlines that in verses 8 and 9 the Greek numerals *dias*, *trias*, *tetras*, *pentas* and *exas* are used as adjectives. By contrast, the dictionary *Latinitas Italica* interprets *diadem* as a shortened substantive that stands for *diadema* (i.e. tiara). In this case, the translation of this verse would read as follows: '[you are] like a unique tiara, not the first merely by law'. According to this reading, it would not be necessary to emend *ut* into *tu*, as editors generally do in keeping with the previous interpretation. However, some metrical features of this verse cast doubt on this second reading. While *dīādēm* (i.e. the accusative of *dias*) reflects the usual scansion of late-antique hexameters (including the fact that the grammatical accent and the metrical ictus fall on the same syllable, *dī/ādēm*), the contracted nominative of *diadema*, i.e. *dī/ādē* would not be compatible with the metrical structure of this verse and would violate the accent/ictus rule. In addition, the word *ne* would have to be taken as an adverb (*nē*) and not a conjunction (*nē*) and would produce a long syllable only because of the two consonants at the beginning of the following word; however, this type of lengthening by position is not allowed in poetry of this period. The same problem arises in the case of *ūt*: since this word is not emended into *tū*, the syllable would become long only by position (*ut passus*).

30 For Latin text cf. Appendix.

31 Vulgarius employs anagrams in two other poems: in *Ad Atenolfum principem Beneventane Urbis* (EuV 3.23.17-9) the name of Atenulf turns into *valetio* and *valet fons*, while in *Ad Gregorium consulem* (EuV 3.26) the name Gregorius becomes *Orgigerus*. The use of anagrams as a form of encomiastic onomancy was common already in the Hellenistic age, at the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (third century BC). For instance the poet Lycophron

2.4 *The Iconological Role of the Ten-Stringed Psaltery and the Psalmist*

The explanatory essay that follows the ode provides the reader with further clarifications and introduces a new level of interpretation that concerns the symbolic meaning of the shape outlined by verses. Vulgarius states this clearly at the beginning of his prose exposition:

Therefore, since the disposition of the verses resembles a psaltery, a musical instrument that is shaped like the letter delta, this letter Δ appropriately instructs us to appease the Lord with divine praise.

So the main aim of Vulgarius' use of the musical symbol of the psaltery is singing the praises of Sergius with words that have to sound like 'a new song'. This point is developed further in the following lines, where Vulgarius refers to the content of Augustine's *Sermon 9*, entitled *Tractatus de decem chordis*:³²

In fact, since the world is enclosed in ten sentences³³ and, on the other hand, is also written in ten sentences,³⁴ a simple man like me presents you, divine by destiny, with ten sentences in verse as a token of his devotion.

The ten sentences Vulgarius refers to correspond to the Decalogue of Mosaic Law, which is written in the Ten Commandments. This point is clarified by Augustine, in Chapter 7 of this *Tractatus de decem chordis*:

On these two stone tablets were inscribed the ten commandments of the law—the harp of ten strings—three referring to God on one tablet, and seven referring to our neighbour on the other tablet. So on the second tablet the first commandment is *Honor your father and your mother*; the second, *You shall not commit adultery*; the third, *You shall not kill*; the fourth, *You shall not steal*; the fifth, *You shall not bear false witness*; the sixth, *You shall not covet your neighbour's wife*; the seventh, *You shall*

praised his patrons by rearranging the letters of their names: so *Ptolemaios* and *Arsinoe* respectively became *apò mēlitos* ('made out of honey') and *Éras íon* ('Hera's violet'). Cf. Bartezzaghi 2010.

32 It is worth noting that the Bamberg manuscript that contains Vulgarius' works presents the expression 'De X Cordis' [*sic*] on the top of the first leaf (c. 1r).

33 I.e. the Decalogue of Mosaic Law.

34 I.e. the Ten Commandments.

not covet anything of your neighbour's. Let us join these to those three that refer to love of God, if we wish to sing the new song to the harp of ten strings.³⁵

Augustine had already touched upon this matter in Chapter 6:

Suppose then I'm a citharode—what more could I sing to you? Here you are—I have brought a psaltery and it has ten strings. You were singing this yourselves a little earlier on, before I began to speak. You were my chorus. You were singing, weren't you, earlier on: *O God, I will sing you a new song, on a psaltery of ten strings I will play to you?* Now I am strumming these ten strings. Why is the sound of God's psaltery sour? Let us all play on the ten-stringed psaltery. I am not singing you something that you are not meant to do, for the Decalogue of the law has Ten Commandments. These Ten Commandments are arranged in such a way that three refer to God and seven refer to men and women. [...] This is the third string of this Decalogue, that is, of the ten-stringed psaltery. Commandments on three strings refer to God.³⁶

The ten-stringed psaltery, therefore, represents Moses' law and the same reference underlies Vulgarius' ten verses, which represent the covenant between men and God and the need to observe Mosaic Law. The poet exploits the content of Augustine's *Tractatus*, and specifically the symbolic meaning attributed to the ten-stringed psaltery, in order to show his faith in Sergius III; he wants to show that he is not the same person who wrote the pamphlets in support of Formosus: he is a new man who 'sings a new song'. Another passage from Chapter 8 of Augustine's *Tractatus* is particularly relevant in this connection:

They were carrying the harp, but they weren't singing. If you are singing, it's enjoyable; if you are fearing, it's burdensome. That's why the old man either doesn't do it, or does it out of fear, not out of love of holiness, not out of delight in chastity, not out of the calmness of charity, but out of fear. It's because he is the old man, and the old man can sing the old song but not the new one. In order to sing the new song, he must become the new man. How can you become the new man? Listen, not to me but to the apostle saying, *Put off the old man and put on the new.* And

35 Aug. *Serm.* 9.7 (CCSL 41, 121f.); Eng. transl. Rotelle 1990, 265f.

36 Aug. *Serm.* 9.6 (CCSL 41, 117); Eng. transl. Rotelle 1990, 264.

in case anyone should imagine, when he says *Put off the old man and put on the new*, that something has to be laid aside and something else taken up, where in fact he is giving instructions about changing the man, he goes on to say, *Therefore, putting aside lying, speak the truth*. That's what he means by *Put off the old man and put on the new*. What he is saying is: "Change your ways." You used to love the world; love God. You used to love the futilities of wickedness, you used to love passing, temporary pleasures; love your neighbor. If you do it out of love, you are singing the new song. If you do it out of fear but do it all the same, you are indeed carrying the harp but you are not yet singing. But if you don't do it at all, you are throwing the harp away. It's better at least to carry it than to throw it away. But again, it's better to sing with pleasure than to carry the thing as a burden. And you don't get to the new song at all unless you are already singing it with pleasure.³⁷

After referring to the covenant between God and Moses, which could reflect the new relationship between Sergius III and Vulgarius, the author introduces a new element, a tribute to the figure of the psalmist, which seems to stand for the author himself. In fact, he describes three different types of psalmists who deserve different treatments:

And similarly [*scil. I presented you with ten sentences etc.*] because the beginning of the psalter shows what the psalmist's duty consists in: since he doubtless is a 'beatus vir',³⁸ the person who must surely be celebrated as a true psalmist is the one who has understood the divine law and applies it; and the person who responds to these divine words with good actions must be venerated as an excellent psalmist; in no lesser degree, the person who not only responds to these divine words with good deeds but also introduces into them other mystic meanings must be honoured and cherished as the greatest psalmist.

Here Vulgarius seems to be suggesting that the Pope should honour him as a 'true psalmist' because he observed the Law and he should venerate him as an 'excellent psalmist' because he turned God's words into good actions, i.e.

37 Aug. *Serm.* 9.8 (CCSL 41, 122f.); Eng. transl. Rotelle 1990, 266.

38 Cf. *Psalm* 1.1f.: 'Blessed is the man / who walks not in the counsel of the wicked, / nor stands in the way of sinners, / nor sits in the seat of scoffers; / but his delight is in the law of the Lord, / and on his law he meditates day and night'.

he sings in praise of the Lord and his representative on earth; finally, Vulgarius suggests that the Pope should welcome him into his arms as the 'greatest psalmist' because he found some new mystical meanings in the image of the ten-stringed psaltery.

2.5 *The Mystical Meaning of Numbers and Proportions in Poem 37*

In the following lines of the explanatory essay, Vulgarius depicts himself as the 'greatest psalmist', who was able to go beyond the symbolic values identified by Augustine. Specifically, he found some new mystical meanings in the image of the ten-stringed psaltery on the basis of the specific variety of neo-Pythagorean numerology discussed in Boethius' *De institutione arithmetica*. Here is what he says in the relevant section of the explanatory essay:

In fact here are ten verses and the decad³⁹ contains in itself all other numbers with their own virtues and perfections; for the decad is the end of the first verse,⁴⁰ which embraces the rules and the analogies proper to numbers,⁴¹ their genera, species, differences, perfect and imperfect features. Therefore the decad is 'equally unequal' (*pariter impar*), because it is generated by odd numbers,⁴² and its shape corresponds to the third one proper to the triangle in operation and act, while each individual side has four units.⁴³

39 Vulgarius employs the term *decas* to indicate a set comprising ten units.

40 I.e. it is the end of the basic series comprising the first ten numbers. The same notion is attested in Mart. Cap. *Nupt.* 7.742. Cf. Grion 2011-2012, 58f., 151-3; here is the passage that comments on the terms that appear also in Vulgarius, providing useful translations and further observations: "Chiara risulta il riferimento alle virtù (*perfectiones*) e ai difetti (*imperfecta*) illustrati per ciascun numero, in accordo con il carattere aritmológico della prima sezione del libro. Corretta inoltre l'interpretazione di Remigio [di Auxerre] che intende per *analogia* il rapporto che intercorre tra due numeri, per *genera* il pari e il dispari, per *species* le sottocategorie di pari e di dispari, per *differentiae* gli intervalli ovvero le distanze tra entità numeriche".

41 I.e. the numbers that belong to the series comprising the first ten positive integers.

42 Cf. Boeth. *Arithm.* 1.10.1. Vulgarius refers to the 'second' species of even numbers: the concept of '*pariter impar*' corresponds to an even number whose division into two produces an odd number. For instance, 10 can be divided by two but the result of this operation cannot be further divided by two ($10 : 2 = 5$). Boethius himself includes the number 10 in the series of numbers he provides to exemplify the concept of '*pariter impar*': 6, 10, 14, 18, 22 (*Arithm.* 1.10.3).

43 Cf. Boeth. *Arithm.* 2.7-9. Vulgarius refers to the fact that the sum of the first four integers is ten ($1 + 2 + 3 + 4$). Boethius arranged these numbers in the shape of a triangle which is 'third in act' (*tertius actu triangulus*), i.e. the result of the combination of three

After discussing the features of the decad, Vulgarius continues by examining the verses that make up the specific decad of the ten-stringed psalter:

In this figure we can observe two terms, 1 and 10.⁴⁴ So, if the beginning of the computation is identified in the monad,⁴⁵ there will be an increase both in the number of the lines and in that of the letters; by contrast, if the beginning of the computation is the decad,⁴⁶ the number of the letters decreases as much as that of the lines increases. In turn, if the verses are observed in the order in which they are distributed, all the 'sesquiter-tial' ratios⁴⁷ will be found by mutual correspondence.

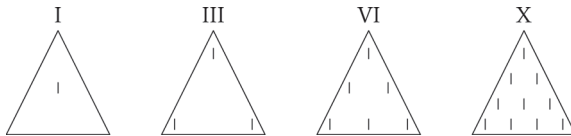
The 'mutual correspondence' between the 'sesquiter-tial' ratios to which Vulgarius refers concerns the relationship between the numbers 4-3 and 8-6. They stand to one another in the following proportion:

$$4:3 = 8:6.$$

Vulgarius ends his analysis of the relation between the verses of his poem with the following remark:

But if the movement went from the last verses to the first, the ratio will be either 'sesquiter-tial' or 'sesquiquartal', following the nature of the ratio between the numbers 4 and 3.

real triangles (*actu et opere*) that are placed above a theoretical triangle, whose centre is the unit.



44 Vulgarius says *monas et decas*, i.e. the unit and the decad.

45 I.e. starting from the first line of the text.

46 I.e. starting from the last line of the text.

47 Boeth. *Arithm.* 1.24.1-2.7f. With the term *sesquiter-tius*, Boethius indicates the ratio 4:3, in which the larger term exceeds the smaller by a third of the smaller term. Following the same rationale, he employs the term *sesquialter* to define a ratio in which the larger term contains the smaller one plus its half (3:2), while the term *sesquiquartus* indicates a ratio in which the larger number contains the smaller plus a fourth of the smaller term (5:4). On the musical usage of these terms to define ratios between different notes, cf. Boeth. *Mus.* 1.4; cf. also Mart. Cap. *Nupt.* 9.930 and 933 in Grion 2011-2012, 176.

Vulgarius clarifies this statement by providing some examples, but his verses are not regarded anymore as numeric units that correspond to a specific line; now each verse is regarded as the sum of the letters it contains:

Therefore the first verse [starting from the bottom] is a multiple number and stands in a superparticular ratio to the first: their ratio is called *diatessaron*⁴⁸ and the difference between them is nine.

This passage means that verse 10, which consists of 36 letters (i.e. a multiple of 4),⁴⁹ stands in a superparticular ratio to the first verse because it contains the number of letters presented in verse 1 (27) plus a fraction of this number,⁵⁰ namely a third (9). For this reason, Vulgarius defines the ratio as *diatessaron*, i.e. 4:3, just like the musical interval of a fourth. If we follow the approach outlined by Vulgarius in the previous lines, we can say that the relationship between these two verses is 'sesquiterial':

48 Boeth. *Arithm.* 1.1.10. On the fact that the names of musical consonances derive from their ratios, cf. Boeth. *Mus.* 1.7.

49 As Boethius states at *Arithm.* 2.2.11, 36 is a multiple of 4 in the series of triple numbers. He puts it even more clearly at *De Institutione Musica* 2.8: 'triple numbers produce sesquiterial ratios. In fact, if we look at a series of triple numbers.

1	3	9	27	81
	4	12	36	108
		16	48	144
			64	192
				256

we can see that sesquiterial ratios are created as follows: the first triple number comes before a single sesquiterial ratio (4:3), the second before two (12:9, 16:12), and the third before three (36:27, 48:36, 64:48). If we arrange these numbers into a triangle, we can see that the numbers comprised in each line present a geometric progression based on the number three, while the numbers at the beginning of each line, which outline the hypotenuse of the triangle, form a geometric pattern based on the number four.

50 Boeth. *Arithm.* 1.24.1: *superparticularis vero est numerus ad alterum comparatus, quotiens habet in se totum minorem et eius aliquam partem*. A similar definition is provided at Boeth. *Mus.* 1.4. The translation provided above does not accept Winterfeld's reading, which associated the word *multiplex* with *superparticularis* and therefore argued that Vulgarius made a mistake. In fact, if the term *multiplex* referred to the word *superparticularis*, then the result would not be consistent with the definition given at Boeth. *Arithm.* 1.29.4: *multiplex superparticularis est quotiens numerus ad numerum comparatus habet eum plus quam semel et eius unam partem*—i.e. the larger term contains the smaller several times plus a fraction of the smaller number. However, in the following lines Vulgarius gives the correct definition of *multiplex superparticularis*, showing that he was familiar with Boethius' theory also with regard to this specific matter.

Verse 10 i.e. 36 letters

Verse 1 i.e. 27 letters

36:27 = a 'sesquitercial' ratio, since $36 = 27 + (27 * 1/3) = 27+9$

This mathematical identity is expressed by the arithmetical proportion 36:27 = 4:3. Moreover, Vulgarius specifies that the difference between the two numbers is 9. This is an important detail because both 36 and 27 can be divided by the difference between them and, therefore, they 'stand in the same ratio as their quotients'⁵¹—i.e. 36:27 = 4:3 because 9 is their common divisor and corresponds also to the difference between them:

$$36-27 = 9$$

$$36:9 = 4$$

$$27:9 = 3$$

The same logic is followed in examining the relationship between v. 9 and v. 2:

By contrast, the second verse [from the bottom] stands in a 'sesquiquartal' superparticular ratio to the second verse, just like 5:4; the difference between them is seven.

Verse 9 contains 35 letters, a number that stands in a 'sesquiquartal' ratio to the number of letters contained in verse 2, i.e. 28. This means that the larger number (35) contains the smaller plus a fourth, leading to the ratio 5:4:

Verse 9 i.e. 35 letters

Verse 2 i.e. 28 letters

35:28 = a 'sesquiquartal' ratio, since $35 = 28 + (28 * 1/4) = 28+7$

This mathematical identity is expressed by the arithmetical proportion 35:28 = 5:4.

Also in this case, the difference between the first two numbers corresponds to a figure by which both of these numbers can be divided; in other words, 7 is their common divisor:

$$35-28 = 7$$

$$35:7 = 5$$

$$28:7 = 4$$

⁵¹ Boeth. *Mus.* 2.9.

In both of these ratios (36:27 and 35:28), the difference between the two pairs of numbers (36-27 and 35-28) coincides with their *mensura communis*,⁵² i.e. their Greatest Common Divisors.

Following the same approach, verse 7 (33 letters) and verse 6 (32 letters) are superparticulars in connection with verses 4 (30 letters) and 5 (31 letters) and the difference between them defines their *mensura communis*:

Verse 7 i.e. 33 letters

Verse 4 i.e. 30 letters

33:30 = 11:10 (i.e. a 'sesquidecimal' ratio)⁵³

33-30 = 3, which is both the difference between them and their *mensura communis*

33:3 = 11

30:3 = 10

Verse 6 i.e. 32 letters

Verse 5 i.e. 31 letters

32-31 = 1 and the unit is both the difference between them and their *mensura communis*.⁵⁴

Now Vulgarius adds the following remark:

Except for the sixth verse, which is *pariter par*, all the other 'superparticulars' are *impariter pares*⁵⁵ by nature.

Therefore, according to Vulgarius, only verse 6 (which consists of 32 letters) is 'evenly even', i.e. can be divided by two several times until it reaches the indivisible unity; all the other superparticular verses are even numbers that can be divided by two more than once before resulting in an odd number. However, even though it is true that 32 is 'evenly even' (because it can be divided by two

52 For some examples of this *mensura communis*, cf. Boeth. *Arithm.* 1.18.5 and *Mus.* 1.29.

53 Other examples of 'sesquidecimal' ratios are given at Boeth. *Mus.* 2.9.1.

54 Boeth. *Arithm.* 1.16.1: *unitas ... omnium numerorum mensura communis est.*

55 Here Vulgarius refers to the two other species of even numbers described by Boethius in addition to the *pariter impar* (cf. n. 42 above). A number can be defined as *pariter par* if its repeated division into two leads eventually to 1 (e.g. if two can be divided into 64 six times: 32, 16, 8, 4, 2, 1); cf. Boeth. *Arithm.* 1.9.1. By contrast, the expression *impariter par* denotes a number whose division into 2 eventually leads to an odd number—e.g. 24 (which can be divided by two three times = 12, 6, 3) and 28 (which can be divided by two twice: 14, 7); cf. Boeth. *Arithm.* 1.11.

five times), the second part of Vulgarius' statement is incorrect. In fact, only verse 10 (36 letters) and verse 2 (28 letters) can be defined as *impariter pares*, while verse 8 (34 letters) and verse 4 (30 letters) are *pariter impar*, since their division by two gives an odd number:

TABLE 1

Verse	Number of letters	Odd/Even	Species of the number	Mathematical analysis
1	27	Odd	Second and composite ^a	$3 \times 3 \times 3$
2	28	Even	<i>Impariter par</i>	$28:2 = 14$ $14:2 = 7$
3	29	Odd	First and incomposite ^b	1×29
4	30	Even	<i>Pariter impar</i>	$30:2 = 15$
5	31	Odd	First and incomposite	1×31
6	32	Even	<i>Pariter par</i>	$32:2 = 16$ $16:2 = 8$ $8:2 = 4$ $4:2 = 2$ $2:2 = 1$
7	33	Odd	Second and composite	3×11
8	34	Even	<i>Pariter impar</i>	$34:2 = 17$
9	35	Odd	Second and composite	5×7
10	36	Even	<i>Impariter par</i>	$36:2 = 18$ $18:2 = 9$

a I.e. it is an odd number that results from the multiplication of two or more odd numbers.

b I.e. it is a prime number, which can be divided evenly only by 1 or itself.

Further arithmetic properties characterise the poem as a whole:

After all, the complex of the complete body of this figure consists of 315 letters, which are combined into 135 syllables. Their relation⁵⁶ is *multiplex superparticularis*, because the larger term exceeds the smaller, containing it twice together with its third part (i.e. 45).⁵⁷

56 Vulgarius' term *proportio* does not indicate a mathematical ratio but a looser idea of a relationship between numbers.

57 On the concept of *multiplex superparticularis*, cf. n. 50 above and Boeth. *Mus.* 1.4.

So the poem reflects the following mathematical identity:

$$3 \cdot 15 = 135 * 2 + 135 * 1/3 = 270 + 45$$

Finally, the explanatory essay refers to the theory of harmonic overtones:

Moreover, all the harmonic intervals⁵⁸ may be found in the division of [verse number] 10, provided that one divides it into single units as in the following series: 3-4-6; 2-3-6; 6-8-[9]-12.

If the 36 letters of verse 10 are divided into groups of three, the result is 12 sets of three letters; all the basic musical intervals can be defined on the basis of these groups, provided that they are regarded as unities and are arranged into the three series of numbers that Vulgarius mentioned in the previous lines. He describes them more clearly in the following passage:

From this harmonic arrangement of the different parts of the division of [verse] 10⁵⁹ we get the following result: 3 [stands] to 6 [in a ratio called] *diapason*;⁶⁰ the ratio between 4 and 6 is *diapente*;⁶¹ moreover, the ratio between 2 and 6 is triple *diapason*,⁶² that between 2 and 3 is *diapente*.⁶³ And again 6 stands to 8⁶⁴ and 9 to 12 in a ratio called *bis diatessaron*;⁶⁵ 6 stands to 9⁶⁶ and 8 to 12⁶⁷ in a ratio called *bis diatessaron* and, finally, the ratio 8 to 9 is called *epogdous*.⁶⁸

The harmonic relations between the numbers of these series can be represented as follows:

58 Literally *omnes armoniorum sinphoniae* [sic].

59 I.e. the relationships established between the subdivisions of the 36 letters of verse 10.

60 6:3 = 2:1, which corresponds to the musical interval of an octave (*diapason*).

61 6:4 = 3:2, which corresponds to the musical interval of a fifth (*diatessaron*).

62 6:2 = 3:1, which corresponds to the musical interval of a triple octave.

63 3:2.

64 8:6 = 4:3, which corresponds to the musical interval of a fourth (*diatessaron*).

65 12:9 = 4:3, which corresponds to the musical interval of a double fourth (*bis diatessaron*).

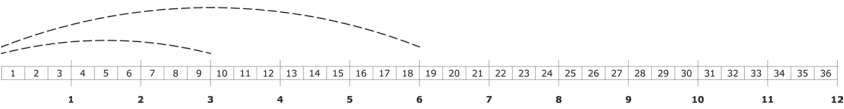
66 9:6 = 3:2.

67 12:8 = 3:2, *bis diapente*.

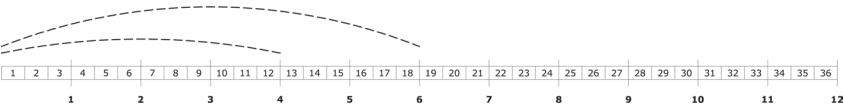
68 9:8, which indicates the musical interval of a tone. Cf. Mart. Cap. *Nupt.* 2.108, where the ratio that defines a tone is called *epogdous* (*novem vero ad octo επογδοον numeri efficiunt iunctionem [tantumque pensat in numeris quantum symphonia diapason in melicis], quae facit tonon, qui est consonae unitatis continua modulation*); cf. also 9.953 (*est autem tonus in epogdoi ratione*), with Grion 2011-2012, 150.

A) Ratios belonging to the first triad 3-4-6

6:3 = 2:1

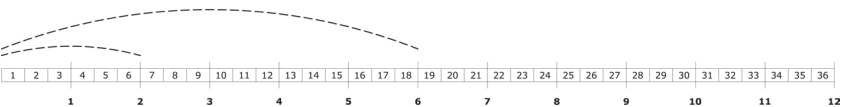


6:4 = 3:2

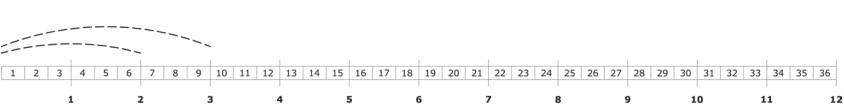


B) Ratios belonging to the second triad 2-3-6

6:2 = 3:1

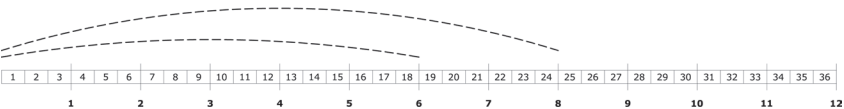


3:2

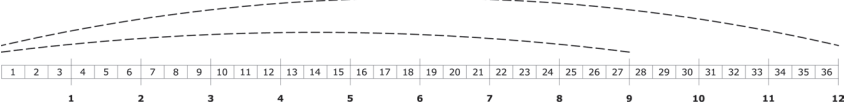


C) Ratios belonging to the third group of numbers 6-8-9-12

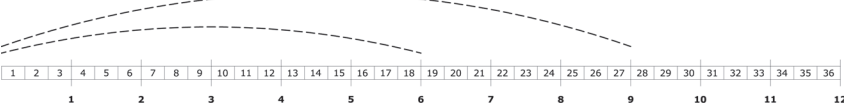
8:6 = 4:3



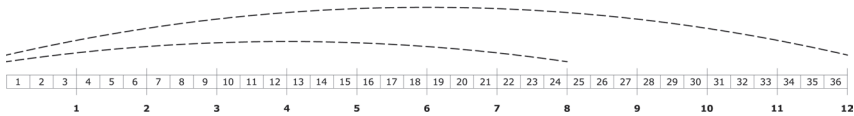
12:9 = 4:3



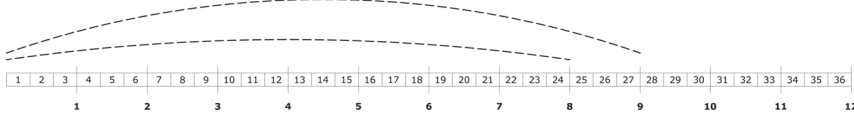
9:6 = 3:2



12:8 = 3:2



9:8



The ratios between the numbers of the first two triads (3-4-6 and 2-3-6) define the basic consonances: *diapason*, *diatessaron* and *diapente*, i.e. the octave (2:1), the fourth (4:3) and the fifth (3:2).⁶⁹ The ratios between the numbers of the last group (6-8-9-12) outline the *maxima et perfecta simphonia* [sic], in that it contains all the basic consonances: *diapason* (2:1), *diatessaron* (4:3), *diapente* (3:2) as well as the tone (9:8).⁷⁰

The explanatory essay ends with the following remark:

The image sketched above⁷¹ clarifies this point.

Therefore, Vulgarius' ten-stringed psaltery aims to provide a visual representation of Boethius' theory of numerical ratios, emphasising its arithmetic and musical implications.⁷²

69 This corresponds to the *armonica* [sic] *medietas* described by Boeth. *Arithm.* 2.48.1-13. "La *medietas armonica* (o *musica*), paragonata al governo dei migliori, è costituita da tutte e tre le *consonantiae* primarie (*diapason*, *diatessaron* e *diapente*), ed è quindi la più completa da un punto di vista musicale" (Papparelli 2011, 109).

70 Boeth. *Arithm.* 2.54.6-9 and *Mus.* 1.29.

71 I.e. the ten-stringed psaltery.

72 The closing remark of the explanatory essay could be also interpreted in the light of codicological and musicological considerations concerning the proportions of the codex itself: for this interpretative approach, see the detailed examination offered by Marchesin 2000. In fact, the most important features of the image drawn in the codex reflect not only mathematical but also musical proportions; for instance, the relationships established between the measures of the two bases of the trapezium and its sloping side define precisely the ratios of the basic consonances:

Major Base A	A:B = 4:3
Minor Base B	A:C = 2:1
Sloping side C	B:C = 3:2
Perpendicular side D	E:D = 2:1
Minor Diagonal E	

2.6 *The Political Message of the Poem: the 'Double Meaning' of Poem 37 and Vulgarius' Quarrel with Sergius III*

The image outlined by the arrangement of Vulgarius' verses and his following analysis provide a learned and erudite synthesis of the mathematical/musical lore of his period. Therefore, the poem celebrates a person (the Pope) who must have been able to understand all the mystical symbols that Vulgarius used in his unique present. However, it seems likely that the poem celebrates the Pope only on the surface, while a very disrespectful characterisation hides between the lines.

In the Nineties, Stefano Pittaluga first hypothesised the presence of 'double meanings' in Vulgarius' celebratory poems.⁷³ He advanced a very promising hypothesis, namely the idea that many texts which celebrate Sergius III skilfully hide a double meaning and two different interpretative levels: in fact, whenever Vulgarius introduces quotations from Seneca into his celebratory poem, he invariably adapts passages taken from completely different contexts, namely passages that have a critical or explicitly polemical tone. Therefore, according to Pittaluga, Vulgarius aimed at expressing his polemical verve against the Pope in a veiled manner through these *double entendres*.

Even though Vulgarius does not quote any passages from Seneca in Poem 37, his use of other authoritative texts in this poem—including treatises by Augustine, Cassiodorus, Martianus Capella and Boethius—seems to support a similar double reading. In fact, in verses 8 and 9 he comments on the anagram of Sergius' name with the following words:

*Restat nam tetras sociata diade sonetur
GE pentasque trias primas exasque conexu.*

For it is clear that the fourth letter together with the second sounds 'GE', and the fifth is to be connected with the third, first and sixth.

Of course, the basic value of the word 'GE' in this passage reflects its Greek meaning, 'earth'. However, if we interpret the letters GE in the light of the theories developed by Boethius in his *De Institutione Musica*, we can identify a reference to the so-called 'Boethian notation'.⁷⁴ From this perspective, the word 'GE' would not mean 'earth' but would *sound* as the sequence of two notes G-E, as Vulgarius himself says (*sonetur*). These two notes produce an interval of a third or a sixth, that is to say two intervals which are 'dissonant' according

73 Pittaluga 1991, 383-91; 2006, 491-500; 2010, 25-32.

74 Boeth. *Mus.* 4.14.17.

to Boethius and do not correspond to simple ratios based on the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4. Therefore, this learned text seems to say between the lines that ‘Sergius sounds like a dissonance’, because the anagram of his name means ‘a dissonant laugh’ (GE RISUS).

This hypothesis is supported also by an anomaly in the metrical scansion of this hexameter. In fact the ten verses of this poem present the following scansions (which must be completed with the addition of their common ending, a dactylic dimeter catalectic):

TABLE 2

Verse Number	Metre	Syllables
1.	SSSS	13
2.	SSSS	13
3.	SSSS	13
4.	SSSS	13
5.	SSSS	13
6.	DSSS	14
7.	SSDS	14
8.	SSDD	15
9.	SDSS	14
10.	SSSS	13

The poem is mostly characterised by a spondaic rhythm, which is slow and solemn and therefore suitable for this ode of praise. The few dactyls which appear in this poem highlight words that underscore the celebratory character of the anagram: the first dactyl corresponds to the name *Sergius*, the *sensus elementis*—i.e. the new meaning that arises from the combination of the letters; the second and third underline some key aspects of the anagram, including *tetras sociata diade* and *pentasque trias*. However, the hexameter presents an irregular structure precisely in the case of verse 9, where the expression ‘GE RISU’ is given in full:

GE PENTASQUE TRIAS PRIMAS EXASQUE CONEXU
GE PEN- | TAS-que tri- | AS PRI- | MAS EX- | AS-que CO- | NE-XU.⁷⁵

75 Long syllables are marked with capital letters, short ones in lower-case letters.

The penultimate foot of this line is neither a dactyl nor a rare spondee but a cretic, which consists of a long syllable followed by a short and a long one.

It seems unlikely that this is a simple oversight, since Vulgarius was well acquainted with classical metre: he composed many poems based on the most complex forms, demonstrating skill and familiarity with all sorts of metrical feet and verses. By contrast, it seems much more likely that this is the result of a deliberate choice on Vulgarius' part: he introduced a sudden and unexpected variation exactly in the part of the verse that traditionally comprised only one foot, the dactyl; and this abrupt change takes place precisely in the verse that seems to reflect a polemical intent, expressed by the double entendre of the word GE. Therefore, the dissonance created by the sounds G and E is reinforced by the appearance of an irregular metrical foot, which breaks the normal correspondence between grammatical accents and metrical ictus that is attested in late-antique hexameters and, therefore, disorients the reader.

The mathematical/musical dissonance and the metrical limp that Vulgarius inserts into the structure of his poetic psaltery suggest that the Pope does not fit into the harmonic relationships that characterise the ten-stringed psaltery: like a dissonant note, he is incompatible with the divine alliance and, therefore, does not belong to the realm of the Ten Commandments and Moses' Decalogue.

The Pope was probably unable to decipher the violent invective hidden in Vulgarius' verses, but the message would have been clear to the most learned and erudite readers, who were familiar with the musical lore discussed in Boethius' text and in the subsequent tradition.⁷⁶

Appendix

*Solo tu nutu natis e diceris unus
A vero divo factus mirabilis actu;
Lux eoi pyr necron illaberis orbem
Unus ne primus tu passus iure diadem
E luces mundo lampas fulgore nitente,
Sergius e fato nomen cui sorte fatetur
E mixtis sensus elementis 'gaudia terre'.
Restat nam, tetras sociata diade sonetur*

⁷⁶ I would like to thank Dr. Giancarlo Dessì, my father, who was my first teacher of mathematics and physics and shared with me his knowledge into Boethius' mathematical writings.

*GE, pentasque tria, prima sexasque conexu
In terris risum per te splendescere sacrum.*

Denique quia instar organici psalterii formula haec versuum paret, quod in modum delte littere est, Δ ad hoc innuit, quia par erat, ut divus divinis mulceretur laudibus. Nam quia mundus decem verbis clauditur contraque et decem verbis scribitur, merito homine fato deo cultus faventis decem verbis versuum attribuitur. Quia itaque officium psaltrie exhibet caput psalterii: procul dubio, ut 'beatus vir', optinet his profecto ut verus psalta, qui divinam intellegit et perficit legem, honorandus et ut egregius psaltes qui per acta bona divinis respondet verbis venerandus; nihilo minus et ut summus psaltades, qui non solum cum operibus bonis divinis respondet verbis, sed in ipsis verbis alios mysticos sensus introduct, summopere est colendus et amplectendus. Ecce etenim decem sunt versus et dacas omnes numeros diverse virtutis et perfectionis intra se habet, est enim primi versus finis, numerorum regulas analogiasque, genera, species, differentias, perfecta et imperfecta concludens; unde ab imparibus procreatus pariter est impar, figura etiam actu et opere trianguli tertia quattuor habens per singula.

In hac figura duo termini speculantur, monas et decas. Ubi si a monade supputandi exordium fuerit, tam linearum quam litterarum incrementum erit; si vero a decade, quantum numerus linearum crescit, tantum litterarum aufugit. Rursus si, ut sunt distributi, despiciantur, omnes sesquiertii alterutra vicissitudine invenientur; sin ab ultimis, ad primos fuerit progressus, erit aut sesquiertia aut sesquiquarta proportio iuxta naturam quattuor ad tria. Primus igitur ad primum multiplex superparticularis, proportio diatesaron; differentia novenaria. Secundus vero ad secundum sesquiquarta id est U ad quattuor; differentia septenaria. Reliqui omnes superparticulares atque praeter sextum, qui est pariter par, omnes sunt impariter paris naturae. Ceterum totius huius formae corporis moles trecentis quindecim constat litteris, quae in centum triginta quinque glutinantur sillabis. Cuius proportio multiplex superparticularis, quia maior minorem superat, habens eum bis et eius tertiam partem, id est XLV. Preterea omnes armoniarum simphoniae in distributione huius decadis ita constant, si tamen per singulas unitates ut est ordo portendatur taliter: III · IV · VI · VIII · X · XII · XIV · XVI · XVIII · XX · XXI · XXII · XXIII · XXIV · XXV · XXVI · XXVII · XXVIII · XXIX · XXX · XXXI · XXXII · XXXIII · XXXIV · XXXV · XXXVI · XXXVII · XXXVIII · XXXIX · XL · XLI · XLII · XLIII · XLIV · XLV. In hac igitur dena distributionis proportionalitate fit III ad VI diapason, VIII ad VI diapente; rursus duo ad VI tripla diapason, duo ad tres diapente; iterumque sex ad octo et novem ad duodecim bis diatesaron, sex autem ad VIII ad duodecim bis diapente, VIII quin etiam ad VIII est epogdous. Quod supra scripta forma clarius monstrat.

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BRILL

Book Reviews



Barker, A., ed. and trans. (2015). *Porphyry's Commentary on Ptolemy's Harmonics: A Greek Text and Annotated Translation*. Cambridge: CUP. vii + 581 pp., ISBN 9781107003859.

Readers of *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* are indebted to Andrew Barker for his many contributions to the study of Greek and Roman music and musicology. In the inaugural issue of this journal, he lamented the previous absence of a journal in this field, in contrast to the many examples focusing on Greek and Roman philosophy, history and literature. Barker's work in this volume, on *Porphyry's Commentary on Ptolemy's Harmonics*, speaks to scholars concerned not only with musical studies, but these other areas as well. Barker draws on his own wider interests and knowledge, as he situates Porphyry's commentary within the broader intellectual contexts in which it was produced.

Porphyry (234–ca. 305 CE) is particularly well known for his edition of Plotinus' *Enneads*, as well as his commentaries on works by Plato and Aristotle. Barker argues persuasively that Porphyry's commentary on Ptolemy's *Harmonics* may have been intended for those with mainly philosophical interests, rather than a desire to understand the technical details of Ptolemy's theory of the *tonoi* (p. 52). Nevertheless, Porphyry's commentary is of great interest to those focusing on Greek music and musicology, and not only because Porphyry provides many—sometimes extensive—quotations of the works of other authors on music, some of whose writings and ideas would be otherwise lost. (Barker has estimated that perhaps a quarter of the total length of Porphyry's commentary is devoted to quotations.) For example, our information about Ptolemaïs of Cyrene (perhaps early first century CE), the only Greek female musicologist known to us, comes entirely from Porphyry. Barker has suggested elsewhere (1989, 230) that her *Pythagorean Elements of Music*, with its catechistic question-and-answer format, may have been a school text. His attention to the form and function of ancient musical writings is characteristic of his scholarship, and infuses Barker's treatment of Porphyry's commentary on the *Harmonics*.

Before returning to questions of the form and function of ancient texts on music, a brief outline of the contents of the volume under review is in order. Barker has provided the Greek text of Porphyry's commentary, based on I. Düring's 1932 edition, along with a critical apparatus; as he explains, he did not attempt a fresh collation of the manuscripts. Nevertheless, the text he offers takes into account research produced subsequent to Düring's edition, and Barker's own informed reading of Porphyry. Furthermore, Barker's active participation in the world of research on ancient music is reflected here; as he notes in his *Acknowledgements*, he has worked in close communication with others studying the text, and we are all the beneficiaries.¹

Barker's is the first full modern translation of Porphyry's text (noting that Porphyry's commentary ends rather abruptly at *Harmonics* 2.7);² it is thoughtfully and extensively annotated. At many places in the notes Barker shares details of his choices and interpretation, and in the *Introduction* he devotes four pages to discussing the challenges faced by all translators, and in particular those met by people working on technical or quasi-technical texts. He focuses on issues of translating terms related to sounds, as well as the acoustic vocabulary (which, as he notes, is often metaphorical in origin).

In the *Introduction*, in addition to discussing the text and the manuscripts, Barker provides detailed consideration of the philosophical, as well as the musicological content, of Porphyry's commentary. Readers of *GRMS* may be most interested in the latter, and Barker discusses the following topics in the *Introduction*: (a) Pythagoreans, Aristoxenians and others; (b) the monochord; (c) the *tonoi* and the attunements of musical performers; and (d) continuous and intervallic sound. Perhaps surprisingly, Porphyry offers little about his own views regarding music in the commentary; an exception may be his treatment of melody as 'broken sound' (see 86.16-24; examined in section (e) of the section on musicological content pp. 43f.). By Barker's estimation, Porphyry was more interested in philosophical questions than in music and musicology; what, then, motivated his commentary on Ptolemy's *Harmonics*? What attracted him to the work? The second-century Alexandrian Claudius Ptolemy mathematician was a polymath. In addition to the *Harmonics*, he produced a number of other important and influential works, and is perhaps best known in some circles for his astronomical treatise the *Mathēmatikē Syntaxis* (also known as the *Almagest*), as well as the so-called *Tetrabiblos* (concerned with the sort of astronomy often referred to as 'astrology'); Porphyry also wrote an introduction to that text.

1 Massimo Raffa has now published his critical edition of Porphyry's commentary (2016).

2 See also M. Raffa's Italian translation (2016).

In 2000, when he published his *Scientific Method in Ptolemy's Harmonics*, Barker raised the question as to “why a scientist of Ptolemy’s stature” paid so much attention to harmonics, an “apparently small and insignificant corner of the Greek intellectual tradition” (p. 259). The answer lies in Ptolemy’s view that the mathematical relationships present in musical concords exist elsewhere in the natural world: the human soul and heavenly bodies display ‘the pattern of organisation that is based on the harmonic ratios of the notes’ (*Harmonics* 3.4; transl. Barker 1989, 374). For Ptolemy, the study of harmonics enables understanding of the soul and divine heavenly bodies. By Barker’s reading, Porphyry’s commentary on the *Harmonics* was motivated by philosophical interests spurred not only by Ptolemy’s work, but also by a desire to engage with the writings of Plato. Section 7 of Barker’s *Introduction* considers the purposes of Porphyry’s commentary. Barker situates Porphyry’s text within the wider contexts of other authors and their concerns to further the study of the *Timaeus*, especially the account of the harmonic structure of the World Soul (*Tim.* 34b–36d). In this way, Barker sees Porphyry’s work as being a more philosophically ambitious version of a project similar to that embodied in Theon of Smyrna’s *Mathematics Useful for Reading Plato*. Barker’s reading brings Porphyry’s philosophical concerns to the fore, exemplified also in his treatment of the philosophical content in section 4 of the Introduction. This reading coheres with Barker’s view stated elsewhere (2012), that ‘like many philosophers and Christian fathers, Porphyry was suspicious of real music but not of musical theory’. For Porphyry, in his commentary on Ptolemy’s *Harmonics*, musical theory served a philosophical purpose.

Having said that, Barker’s study of Porphyry’s commentary provides intriguing evidence about the form and function of different sorts of ancient texts, particularly—as we might expect—the commentary. In the second part of the *Introduction* (*The commentary on the Harmonics: General profile*), he considers the structure of the work, including the provision of the lemmata, as well as the different terms used to refer to it (*exēgēsis* by Porphyry and *hypomnēma* in the title in the manuscripts). As already noted, the purposes of the commentary are discussed in section 7. In section 6 of the *Introduction*, Barker considers “the circumstances in which Porphyry’s commentary was composed”. Here, he hypothesises about the context in which Porphyry produced his work, emphasising the production and use of commentaries as group exercises, undertaken by intellectuals—who may or may not have been members of a school—working together and utilising the practices of ‘reading communities’, such as those studied by William Johnson. Indeed, in his *Life of Plotinus*, Porphyry offers details about the culture of those who shared and produced commentaries, indicating that Plotinus and his group had a well-stocked library,

and that they read texts aloud as a group activity (14.11-15).³ This emphasis on the communal practices of gaining deeper understanding of ancient texts, described by Porphyry, has a modern echo in Barker's own generous acknowledgement of the circle of scholars—and scholarly sharing—in which his work and that of others has been produced.

But lest we think that it is all and only about producing and reading texts, and reading and producing more texts about those earlier texts, Barker points to an intriguing hint in Porphyry's work regarding the absence of texts and textual evidence. Porphyry quotes from Aristoxenus, and mentions 'the more recent Aristoxenians' (for example, at 130.28), seemingly referring to his own contemporaries without referring to specific texts (see also 95.13-19). Barker suggests that these 'more recent Aristoxenians' may have been teachers and performers who did not necessarily commit their ideas to writing; he notes the costs that would have been incurred in providing teaching materials for schools and students (33f. and 44). This suggestion reminds us that even those texts that focus primarily on harmonics for philosophical purposes have interest for those concerned more broadly with ideas and practices related to music and musicology. As ever in his work, Andrew Barker has provided us here with rich tools for grappling with the questions raised by those texts, and for contemplating what the absence of other texts means.

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3 See Taub (2017, 90) for further references.

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Provenza, A. (2016). *La medicina delle Muse. La musica come cura nella Grecia antica*. Roma: Carocci editore (Biblioteca di Testi e Studi). 240 pp., ISBN: 9788843070381.

In this book Antonietta Provenza (henceforth AP) has a synthetic aim and deals with an important, complex subject, studied by international scholars for a long time now with different approaches. The title “The Medicine of the Muses. Music as a Cure in Ancient Greece” promises to touch on the medical side of music and the author undertakes this task in 240 pages. The book appears in the series *Biblioteca Testi e Studi*, which has an explicitly educational purpose. The chapters are written in Italian, the language into which are translated almost all of the quotations from the several original sources presented in the text: even so, the book requires an expertise in Classics.

After a section listing the lexicons, critical editions and iconographic images cited in the book and the abbreviations used (pp. 11-20), follows an Introduction (pp. 21-9), where AP explains her purpose, which can be summarised as follows: to show the notion of music therapy conceived in ancient Greece in its earlier days and to describe the contribution of the Pythagoreans (p. 24) in a picture “free as much as possible from Platonic and Aristotelian interpretative assumptions” (p. 25); thereby, she sheds light on the most ancient tradition about enchantment and *catharsis*, in particular through the testimonies of the Peripatetic philosopher Aristoxenus, who had an important Pythagorean background and, in AP’s judgment, is able to offer useful information for a coherent interpretation of Pythagorean music theory and some aspects of Pythagoras’ life, usually regarded only as anecdotes.

The structure of the work is tripartite, with each of the three chapters divided into sub-sections presenting several themes in a synthetic framework, leaving further information, critical details and references to bibliography and sources in the ample and detailed apparatus of notes at the end of each chapter. At the end of the book there is a lengthy bibliography (pp. 183-217), an index of the ancient authors and their works (pp. 219-35) and a useful index of names and important things (pp. 237-9).

The first chapter is devoted to the world of μουσική (pp. 31-64) and is characterized by a historical-literary approach, which shows, through different poetic sources from the Archaic age, the intrinsic link between music and cathartic enchantment (*epōidē*): its first section deals with the singer and the art of the Muses (1.1, pp. 31-4), the second with the occasions for musical performances (1.2, pp. 34-7) and the third with the pleasure of listening to music, with references to the Muses, the Sirens and their enchantment (1.3, pp. 37-44); notes follow at the end of the chapter (pp. 44-64).

The second chapter is on *catharsis* and musical enchantment, with a focus on the twofold music therapy in the Homeric poems and a detailed, in-depth look at the Homeric *epōidē* (pp. 65-118). It is articulated in eight sections: in the Introduction are presented the collective and the individual kinds of musical care in the Homeric poems (II.1, pp. 65f.); a second section is on the sources that deal with medicine and magic in ancient Greece with an excursus on Egyptian magical medicine delivered through song (II.2, pp. 66-70); a third on *catharsis* 'between religion and magic' with brief references to Pretus, Epimenides, Orpheus and orphism and a reconstruction of magic musical medicine undertaken mainly through tragic sources (II.3, pp. 70f.); a fourth on 'logotherapy' in Homer with an excursus on the intonation of the paeon for the resolution of epidemics (but other questions also come into play, such as Elena's use of Egyptian *pharmaka* and a parenthesis on the relationship between medicine and magic, II.4, pp. 71-4); the fifth section is devoted to Book I of the *Odyssey* and gives a description of the plague and the offer of paeans to Apollo (II.5, pp. 75-9); the sixth section is on the episode in the 19th Book of the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus goes hunting on the Parnassus and is wounded by the boar: AP argues that it is here that we get the first occurrence of the term *epōidē* in Greek literature in reference to the cure of Odysseus' bleeding, for which drugs and bandages are not sufficient (II.6, pp. 79-86); in a seventh section AP presents Empedocles, whose activity may be interpreted as between science and magic, using music therapy and logotherapy (II.7, pp. 86-9). In the last section she presents the dissent of Hippocratic medicine and the Platonic rationalization of *epōidē* (II.8, pp. 89-95). In the long, detailed notes at the end of this chapter (pp. 95-118) many issues are fleshed out, e.g. the etymology of 'paian' (n. 124), the semantic field of *catharsis* in the Homeric poems (n. 134), the presence of Homeric formulas already used as magic formulas by Empedocles (n. 148), the doctor-patient relationship assisted by rhetoric in Plato's *Gorgias* (n. 174) and in the medical writings of Hippocrates and Galen (n. 215) and a long excursus on the power of enchantment in Sophocles's plays (n. 247).

The third chapter is on *catharsis* and music therapy in ancient Pythagoreanism (pp. 119-74), a theme that AP treats in eight sections, the first of which is on *ēthos* and *mimēsis* by Plato (III.1, pp. 119-22); the second on the Pythagorean musical *catharsis* by Aristoxenus, recognized as the most authoritative and important ancient source on the Pythagoreans together with Aristotle (III.2, pp. 122-4); the third on the medical meanings of *catharsis* (III.3, pp. 124-7); the fourth on the use of ritual cathartic paeans by the Pythagoreans (III.4, pp. 127f.), with an appendix on the apotropaic musical 'spring *catharsis*': ancient rituals reconstructed on the basis of late sources, like Iamblichus and the paradoxographer Apollonius (III.4.1, pp. 129f.); the fifth section is on Pythagorean music

therapy as described by Porphyry and Iamblichus, the two Neoplatonic sources who often quote Aristoxenus (III.5, pp. 131f.); the sixth is on the late sources that present Pythagorean music therapy for the control of anger and violence with a description of the aulos' role (III.6, pp. 132-9); the seventh section treats the care of the soul and the care of the body (III.7, pp. 139-42) with an appendix on music therapy for the correction of *ēthos* in Plato's and Aristotle's theories compared with the late testimonies of the Imperial Age that quote Aristoxenus about the Pythagoreans (III.7.1, pp. 142-7); the last section is on Pythagoras as a superhuman and prodigious being (III.8, pp. 148f.). More information and details are to be found in the notes at pp. 149-74.

In the conclusion (pp. 175-8, with notes at pp. 178-81) AP develops some further topics: the Neoplatonic Iamblichus appropriates the representation of Pythagoreanism accomplished by Aristoxenus and states that their attention to musical *ēthos* preceded Platonism. She presents the medical Hippocratic approach in the *De Victu* noting how in this work musical concepts are used in the definition of the development of the embryo, in relationship with the perfect consonances elaborated in the Greek musical system. She considers also how the idea of harmony as a balanced mixture in Plato's *Phaedon* has analogies with the medical reflection on the *symphōnoi periodoi* and concludes that both were born from the same observation that a *harmonia* is a fundamental element which allows for balance between all things, with a useful function for the human community. Then she considers the Aristotelian and Theophrastean contribution to *catharsis* in terms on which I do not fully agree (more on this below). Then, she highlights that Aristoxenus offered a useful model for the medical speculation concerning the pulsations by Herophilus, then used by Galen. On this basis, she concludes that music therapy, including the treatment of sciatica, over time acquires a different sense, away from the magical one, having to do with external musical rhythms that interact with the internal rhythms of the pulsations shocked by evil but which can be restored to a state of harmony by music.

Referring to the healing of sciatic pain through the rhythms of the pulsations, AP refers to Theophrastus fr. 726A FHS&G (p. 178), but on this point I disagree. My research on Theophrastus' theory of musical *catharsis* leads me to believe that it cannot be associated with Herophilus' medical theory on pulsations, which AP claims to have been elaborated on the basis of Aristoxenus' Pythagorean musical notions (on this topic she quotes, properly, Pigeaud's critical opinion, see p. 180, note 17). Theophrastus used the Aristotelian criterion of the "more and the less" as a guiding principle, which he applied to the physiological enquiries into humors and warmth, by which he tries to explain musical *catharsis*. In the Theophrastean theory, the physiological motions are

connected with the ones of the soul and both are explained in terms of a dynamic relationship between different degrees of “tension” and “relaxation”. Therefore, ethical issues are related to the different degrees of “tension” or “relaxation” of the motions of the soul and are linked to the emotions in so far as this dynamic produces either vices or virtues. His locution ἀπόλυσις τῶν κακῶν (‘release from evils’, see FHS&G 716.130f.) substituted the term *catharsis* in the ethical contexts in which Theophrastus elaborated his original take on the theme. On this interpretation, I refer to my article *Theophrastus on Catharsis and the Need for Release from the Evils Due to Emotions*, published in *Skenē* (2.1, 2016, pp. 69–103), an issue entirely devoted to Ancient and Modern Catharsis that AP does not use, surely because it was not available to her in time.

AP treats the Apollonian component of music therapy, but she only mentions, without developing it, the *catharsis* in the Coribantic and Dionysian experiences (on the Coribantics, nn. 10f.; 126 at pp. 23, 28f.; on the Dionysian rites and Phrygian melodies nn. 16f. at p. 151; on Dionysus, Apollo and Nietzsche’s Apollonian and Dionysian theory n. 116 at pp. 162f.). This is surely a justifiable choice, given the extent of the other themes treated in this book; however, I wonder if this exclusion does not limit the understanding of Aristotelian tragic *catharsis*, which, in my opinion, should be connected with the religious and musical one (see Arist. *Poe.* 1449b22–8, 1455b15 and *Pol.* 1341a21–4). Therefore, I do not agree with the statement that the ancient notion of *catharsis* is naturalized by Aristotle in the field of ‘aesthetics’ (‘l’antica nozione di catarsi [...] è naturalizzata in Aristotele in ambito estetico’, p. 177, and cf. 24): this is simplistic, not only because ‘aesthetics’ in the modern sense was not conceived by Aristotle, but because *catharsis* should be rather considered as a complex, polyvalent notion inside his organic and holistic philosophical system, as is certainly true for Theophrastus.

The book is very rich in good bibliographical references and therefore I need make only very few remarks about the bibliography. Strangely, AP excludes some critical editions or collections in the list of *Lexicons*, *Critical editions*, *Bibliographic repertoires*, *Abbreviations* at pp. 11–20, but we find them listed in the bibliography at pp. 183–217 (for instance Bernabé’s *Poetae Epici Graeci. Testimonia et Fragmenta* or Cramer’s *Anecdota Graeca*; Martano—Matelli—Mirhady’s edition of Praxiphanes’s and Chamaeleon’s Texts by RUSH; von Jan’s *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, etc.). In the same list (p. 13) she quotes the collection of Theophrastus’ texts in two volumes edited by Brill in 1990 as ‘Fortenbaugh’ and not after the conventional sigla FHS&G, which refers to the abbreviations of the four editors’ names. She never quotes the works of Giovanni Comotti, who made several contributions on the topics touched upon. A year after the release of this book, Camille Semenzato published the volume *A l’écoute des*

Muses en Grèce archaïque. La question de l'inspiration dans la poésie grecque à l'aube de notre civilisation (Berlin, De Gruyter 2017), which deals in detail with the themes and the analysis of the sources that AP has discussed in the first and second chapters.

In conclusion, AP has used a rigorous heuristic method to compile an immense amount of information outlining a historical-literary framework that goes from the practical experiences of the earliest ages, which merged into poetic texts and the Homeric poems in particular, to the later philosophical theory of music as therapy for the healing of physical ills as well as an aid to the 'balance of emotions' and a tool for controlling *ēthos*. About Pythagoreanism, she presents a critical analysis of the contribution to this framework made primarily by philosophers of the 4th century BC and then by the Neoplatonists of the Imperial Roman Age. She usefully brings out the connections between Pythagorean musical doctrines and the progress of ancient medical investigations.

Although this book is not an easy read thanks to the dense juxtaposition of detailed, learned information, those interested in a critical literary approach to the material will be satisfied by AP's treatment and can learn a great deal from it, discovering little-known notions. An anthropological approach to ancient Pythagoreanism and music therapy is only hinted at in some of the notes, but this was not one of the stated aims of the book.

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Calame, C. (2017). *La tragédie chorale: poésie grecque et rituel musical*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 258 pp., ISBN 978225144704-9.

In the last few years many studies have shed some light on the influence of melic choral poetry in the composition of tragic choral songs: I refer, above all, to the monographs of Laura Swift (2010) and Andrea Rodighiero (2012). This book joins the academic debate on these issues, dealing with the ritual dimension of Attic tragedy and the 'intermedial' function of the tragic choral voice.

The seven chapters of which the monograph is made up are preceded by a methodological prelude (11-9) and followed by a general bibliography (233-49) and a table of contents (251-4).

In the *Prelude méthodologique* the author points out the necessity of delving into *opsis* and *melopoiia*, two Aristotelian parts of tragedy often neglected by critics. In order to do so, he propounds the ethnopoetic analysis of lyric texts as a possible and fruitful approach and, to this end, he opens his book with a very enlightening comparison between fifth-century Athens and contemporary Bali.

The first three chapters constitute a long, easily approachable and ingeniously presented introduction to the ritual and performative context of Greek tragedy and to the role of the tragic choral group. In the first chapter (*Le "tragique" en substance*) the author gives a survey of some well-known theories of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century (e.g. Hegel, Nietzsche, Szondi, etc.) on the essence of 'tragic'. Chapter two (*Tragédie, culte et rituel*) is devoted to the importance of *melos* in tragedy and explains why its musical performance can be seen also as a religious act; the second part of the chapter exemplifies this view with four cases of individual and collective ritual acts in tragedy from Euripides' *Ion*. In the third chapter (*Polyphonies chorales et tragédie*) the main topic is the tragic chorus: the author reviews some renowned interpretations of choral identity and ultimately asserts the heterogeneity, flexibility, and polyphony of the choral voice, which results from a combination of the hermeneutic voice with the performative and the emotive ones. He then remarks the 'intermedial' function of the chorus, who—wearing a mask and performing in the *orchestra*—can mediate between the mythical past and the historical present, the heroic world and the audience, the gods worshipped in the play and Dionysus. The last part of the chapter deals with the performative function of the chorus by taking into account a few cases where the *persona canens* pronounces self-referential acts (e.g. Pind. fr. 94b, the 'binding song' in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, the second stasimon of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*).

The next three chapters are dedicated to three case studies, each from one of the major Athenian tragedians: three tragedies are taken into analysis in order to show how the ethnopoeitic approach can be useful in the understanding of tragic choral songs. Chapter four (*Les Perses d'Eschyle: l'identité chorale en question*) is devoted to Aeschylus' *Persians*, where the intertwining of the three different choral voices puts to light quite evidently the chorus' mediating function: the performative voice is chiefly barbaric; the hermeneutic one always gives an Athenian or Panhellenic point of view; the emotive voice is universal and can mediate between different standpoints and, in so doing, is used to obtain the audience's sympathy. In the fifth chapter (*L'Hippolyte d'Euripide: le chant choral marqué par le "genre"*) the author highlights the chorus' gender ambiguity in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, where semantic polyphony and versatility allow the chorus even to cross gender boundaries. Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* is at the centre of chapter six (*L'Œdipe-Roi de Sophocle: "Pourquoi danser en chœur?"*): here the choral voice embodies the ideal spectator, in so far as it conveys the poet's reading of the events on stage and, with great self-awareness and self-referentiality, accomplishes the ritual and theological fulfilment of the play.

In conclusion, the seventh and last chapter (*Poètes, dictions et fictions tragiques*) tries to sum up everything that has been said in the previous pages and, in a perfect ring composition, turns back to some questions emphasized at the beginning of the book. The author clarifies his view on the connection between ritual melic poetry and tragic songs by mentioning two poetic genres that could have mediated between lyric and tragedy: i.e. the citharodic *nomos* of Stesichorus and Bacchylides' Athenian dithyramb (Bacch. 18). The final audacious comparison between the performative context of Greek tragedy and Johann Sebastian Bach's oratorios is extremely fascinating and thought-provoking; it could be even more appropriate if one thinks of Igor Stravinskij's non-traditional *Oedipus Rex* (1927), where the Russian composer intertwined classical tragedy, opera and oratorio.

The content of this monograph is not entirely original: many chapters had already appeared in the form of essays published in three different languages during the last two decades, as the author declares at pp. 17f., n. 11 (see also pp. 235-7 for a more complete list of Calame's studies on these themes). In light of this, *La tragédie chorale* could be considered the culmination of a long meditation and of many years of research on these topics: after all, the choral dimension of tragedy, the relationship between ritual poetry and theatre, the performative and social analysis of Greek lyric poetry have always been key interests of the author. In many respects Calame's studies are in line with the

path traced by Jean-Pierre Vernant and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, who adopted the anthropological approach in dealing with Greek myth, theatre, and society. On the other hand, Calame has gone further in this field, by focusing on the performative acts of the choral group, on the pragmatics of its enunciative procedures, on the *hic et nunc* of the performance in relation to the heroic action dramatized on stage.

Calame has been dealing with these and similar topics for four decades now. Among his many publications, three are particularly relevant to these themes: Calame 1977a, where Greek melic genres are set in their ritual contexts; the broadly renowned Calame 1977b; Calame 1986, which by various means paves the way for this book both in the way it was born—it is, as well, a collection of essays previously published over a ten-years period—and the themes it deals with. To the benefit of his readers, Calame has now collected his thoughts on tragic choruses in *La tragédie chorale*, assembling, rewriting, cutting, or expanding his scattered publications: the book thus witnesses a constant and mature reflection on matters that the author handles with great expertise.

An authority on comparative anthropology applied to ancient Greek melic poetry, Calame shows a remarkable ease in mastering a very broad range of manifold issues, thus providing the reader with a shrewd overview of fifth-century Athenian theatre and society. The main virtue of the book lies exactly in its being pleasantly written and easily accessible: the reader will never find it boring, nor banal, but rather engaging and enriching on several points. Calame paints in broad strokes the picture of a society where a prominent place is given to song culture, where lyric poetry is put at the service of religion, where even theatrical performances are part of a god's ritual. Scholars and students alike wishing to investigate the relationship between Attic tragedy and melic poetry, or the 'intermedial' function of the choral group will certainly benefit from this monograph. Therefore, I would strongly recommend its reading to anyone who needs a general introduction on these topics, but readers should also be aware of the existence of other more specific essays, that ought to be read if one looks for more in-depth analyses on the mutual influence between tragedy and lyric poetry.

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Weiss, N.A. (2017). *The Music of Tragedy: Performance and Imagination in Euripidean Theater*. Oakland CA: University of California Press. 284 pp. ISBN 9780520295902.

This outstanding book is the first entirely devoted to Euripidean music. Mario Pintacuda's *La musica nella tragedia greca* (1978), or Martin Hose's *Studien zum Chor bei Euripides* (1990-91) are distant precursors, but music for Weiss goes well beyond the traditional focus on metrics, colometry and genre. All of these do get close scrutiny, but Weiss' main evidence for Euripidean music is verbal imagery. The closest comparanda for this book, itself the revision of a 2014 Berkeley dissertation, are two theses as yet formally unpublished (though available on the web): Elena Firinu's *Studi sull'immaginario musicale in Euripide* (diss. Bologna 2012) and Aikaterini Tsolakidou, *The Helix of Dionysus: Musical Imagery in Later Euripidean Drama* (diss. Princeton 2012). The nearly simultaneous appearance of three theses on Euripidean musical imagery illustrates the intensity with which recent scholarship has engaged with this topic as well as the perceived need to bring this scholarship's many strands into coherent focus under a single cover.

Verbal imagery in tragic lyric may seem remote from 'music'. But 'music' here is *μουσική*: song and dance as well as instrumental accompaniment. In the 1990s Albert Henrichs brought attention to the frequency with which tragic choruses described the sound and movement of their own performance (Henrichs 1995). Still more frequently they described other choruses in similar musical detail. Since then a lot of attention has been paid to the later plays of Euripides, whose frequent use of this ('metamusical') language, particularly from about 420 onwards, showed him a pioneer of the New Music, which aspired, above all, to create a synaesthetic unity of song, instrumental accompaniment, and dance. An obvious problem is that the poverty of direct evidence for all but the lyrics makes it hard to control the assumption that the *mousikē* described resembles the *mousikē* performed. Weiss solves (or avoids) this problem by introducing the useful concept of 'imaginative suggestion'. Musical images generated by the lyrics necessarily impact the way audiences perceive sounds and movements. Words, dance and music need not, and indeed cannot always, precisely correspond in performance, but they can to a large extent in the experience of performance. A good example is offered by the image of the panpipes (*syrinx*) in *Iphigenia at Aulis* 205-10. Theatre music was furnished by an aulete and other instruments were used rarely if at all. Panpipes are increasingly imaged in Euripidean odes after about 420 and, if one is convinced of the synaesthetic synergy of Euripidean music, it seems obvious that the *auloi* imitated the sound of panpipes when the song mentions panpipes. But even that small leap of faith is unnecessary if, as Weiss argues, the audience receives

a synthesis of imagined and perceived sound. 'Imaginative suggestion' invites/directs the audience to hear both instruments at once. The artifice seems to be valued as much as the illusion: in *IA* 573-8 Weiss identifies a moment where Euripides layers this imaginative suggestion into something of a *syrix* sandwich where Paris is described "piping foreign tunes on the *syrix*, breathing on reeds imitations of Phrygian *auloi*" (206). The principle can be transferred to other musical imagery.

For twenty years scholarship on Euripidean metamusic has mainly mapped general patterns across the works of Euripides and his New Musical contemporaries. It therefore gives unwitting support to earlier judgements that Euripides' later songs are irrelevant to their specific plays. Weiss' main aim, therefore, is to show how the odes (not *despite*, but *through* their metamusic) support the plot structure (she prefers the Aristotelian term *μῦθος*).

Chapter 1 pursues a secondary aim: to correct another developing blind spot in recent scholarship, deriving mainly from the term 'New Music', which despite its name is not entirely new (the caps deliberately move up and down in this book). The choruses of Alcman and Pindar (thus parthenia and epinician, not just dithyramb) frequently invite audiences to view the performance through the lens of their choral imagery. Aeschylus and Sophocles also use metamusical imagery, but tend to restrict it to what is self-referential or natural to the chorus' own persona. In Aeschylus it is a direct fit (as with Euripides' *Bacchae*), thus Nereid imagery in *Nereids*, Dionysian imagery in *Bassaridae* and *Edonians*. Euripides by contrast "frequently integrates such choral figures without making them a consistent part of a chorus' characterization and so effects a more complex and layered form of mimeticism" (46). Similarly Sophocles' choruses are "as Aristotle suggests ... more immediately integrated within the action of the play" and his "choral lyric tends to be more obviously mimetic than suggestive, keeping the audience focused on the present *choreia* rather than encouraging them to be simultaneously transported to a scene beyond the immediate action of the play itself" (52). This helps demarcate the old from the new in Euripidean tragedy. I missed similar help demarcating Euripidean lyric from Alcman and Pindar. Euripidean New Music certainly archaised and 'lyricised', but I still suspect that some feature really was new, even if only the premium Euripides gives such musical effects.

Chapters 2-5 detail how metamusical play integrates chorus and monodists within the action of four late Euripidean plays: *Electra*, *Trojan Women*, *Helen* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*. An attempt to summarise each would do no justice to the author's persuasive and richly textured argument, so I confine myself to exemplifying some of the ways the *mythos* in *Electra* and *Helen* is advanced

by musical structure and choral imagery. In *Electra* both work primarily to signify Electra's social isolation. For ancient Greeks participation in a chorus was an affirmation of their place in the community (and the cosmos). Abnormally Electra sings a lament even before the chorus enters. Like an exarchos she issues instructions to an absent chorus and imagines herself a swan calling out to its ensnared father. The parodos of the chorus only completes Electra's isolation. It joyfully announces a festival, imagines its dance there, and urges Electra to be its choregos. It does not succeed in drawing her into its musical world, nor she it. Electra literally and musically rejects *choreia* as she persists in her lament, singing alongside but not with the chorus. This refusal to integrate with the chorus characterises Electra in a way that supports a tragic *mythos* about a woman who willfully makes herself an orphan and an exile. As for the stasima, their clearly programmatic imagery proves effective precisely because of its apparent distance from the plot, beginning with far away innocent musical landscapes and returning, through a series of increasingly sinister images, usually female monsters, with heightened immediacy to the murders taking place offstage. The images include, significantly, star-choruses that reverse direction in revulsion at human crime. This anticipates the eventual turn of direction of the chorus itself, from sympathy to revulsion for Electra's actions, but also of Electra and Orestes, who succumb to shame and guilt.

In *Helen* the music works similarly but antithetically to *Electra*. Helen is the central figure of the music, the 'choregos' of its parodos lament and the ultimate referent of all the dominant musical imagery of the play "from the Sirens to the mourning nightingale, the Great Mother, and the syrinx-playing crane—all ultimately refer to Helen herself" (142). These mainly avian images suit the swan-born and flighty Helen. By extension the chorus, too, turns into Sirens to mark the unique dirge-like antiphonic exchange of the parodos, led by Helen. In the first stasimon Helen, though absent, remains central to the chorus' song when it figures her as a nightingale while she laments off-stage. The metamusical commentary of the long second stasimon describes chaotic movement and disturbing sound while the Great Mother seeks and laments her lost daughter, but turns into rapturous Dionysian music and dance after she is reconciled. It takes place just as Helen and Menelaus make their escape from Egypt. In the third stasimon the chorus imagines Helen escaping on the Sidonian ship as a "choregos of dolphins of beautiful dances". It then imagines her return to Sparta where she will dance again at the festivals. Finally it wishes itself to be closely ranked cranes following their "piping" leader, so that it too could fly to Sparta with its choregos. Helen remains central to the chorus' song after she has abandoned it in fact.

One can see from these examples that Euripides' music most typically amplifies and regulates the audience's mood and empathy. It does not produce any very direct contribution to what Aristotle would call *mythos*—no necessary and probable, causal or logical contribution to the chain of actions. But perhaps the Aristotelian term is not so helpful after all. What Weiss does show, brilliantly, is that the abundant imagery of Euripides' later music is carefully chosen to guide the audience's emotional response to characters and situations. It can, for example, complement the action with a programmatic sweep from grief to joy, as in *Helen*, or position the audience's stance to the main character from distance to anxiety and horror and finally revulsion, as in *Electra*. The attempt to demonstrate that the music is an integral part of the experience of each tragedy, and specifically designed for its particular needs, is entirely successful.

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